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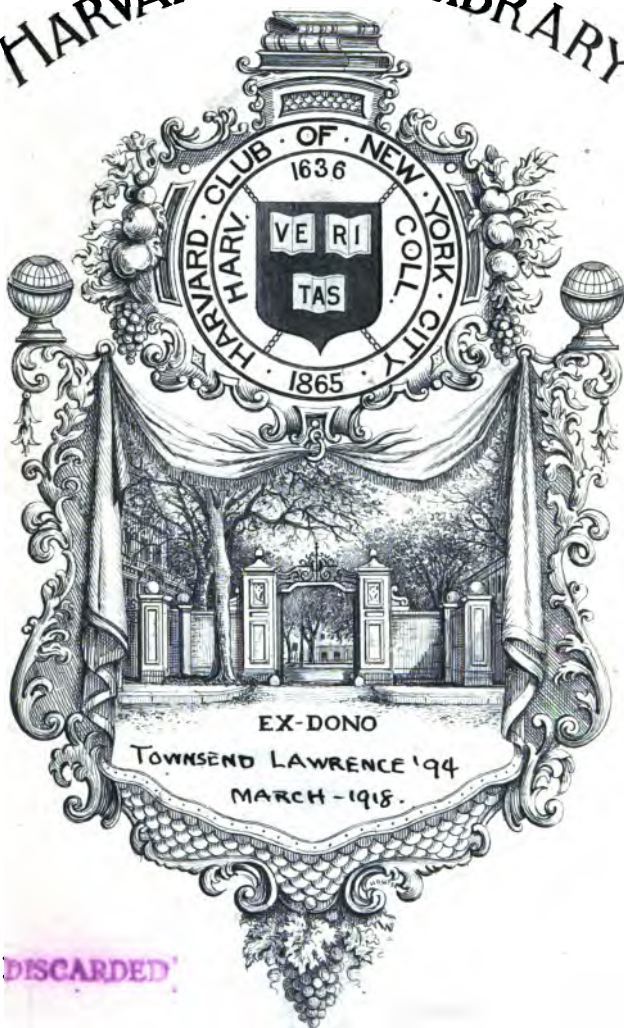
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THE
HISTORY OF SPAIN,
FROM
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
COLONY OF GADES BY THE PHŒNICIANS,
TO THE
DEATH OF FERDINAND,
SURNAMED THE SAGE.
BY THE AUTHOR
OF THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

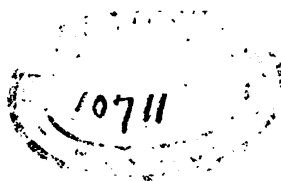
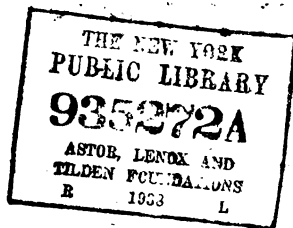
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IN submitting the following work to the public, it is incumbent on the author to state the sources of his information:

In the first volume, the history of Spain by MARIANA, has been his principal guide; in the revolutions effected by the arms of the Goths and the Saracens, he has preferred the narrative of Mr. GIBBON; and in distinguishing the ancient and modern names of places, he has had recourse to Monsieur D'ANVILLE; he has adopted the histories of CHARLES the Fifth, and of America by Doctor ROBERTSON; and the history of PHILIP the Second by Doctor WATSON.

In the second volume, his materials have been more various:

Dr. WATSON's History of PHILIP the Third;
GEDDES's Miscellaneous Tracts;
Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'OLIVARES;
Histoire Generale d'Espagne;
Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Espagne;
Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire d'Espagne sous le
Regne de PHILIPPE V.;
Mercure Historique & Politique;
Memoires du Marechal Duc de BERWICK;
Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du 18 Siecle, par
M. de LAMBERTI;
HUME's History of England;
RUSSELL's History of Modern Europe;
And VOLTAIRE's Ages of LOUIS the Fourteenth and
Fifteenth.

He must also acknowledge the assistance he has derived from the Travels of Mr. SWINBURNE, and the more recent Journey of Mr. TOWNSEND.

In the perusal of this work, the reader will probably observe, that several circumstances have been slightly passed over which may be thought worthy a more copious detail; the author has only to reply, that he hopes none of the principal events which regard Spain have been omitted; and where the transactions of upwards of two thousand years are to be comprised within two octavo volumes, to be concise, is not a matter of choice, but of obligation.

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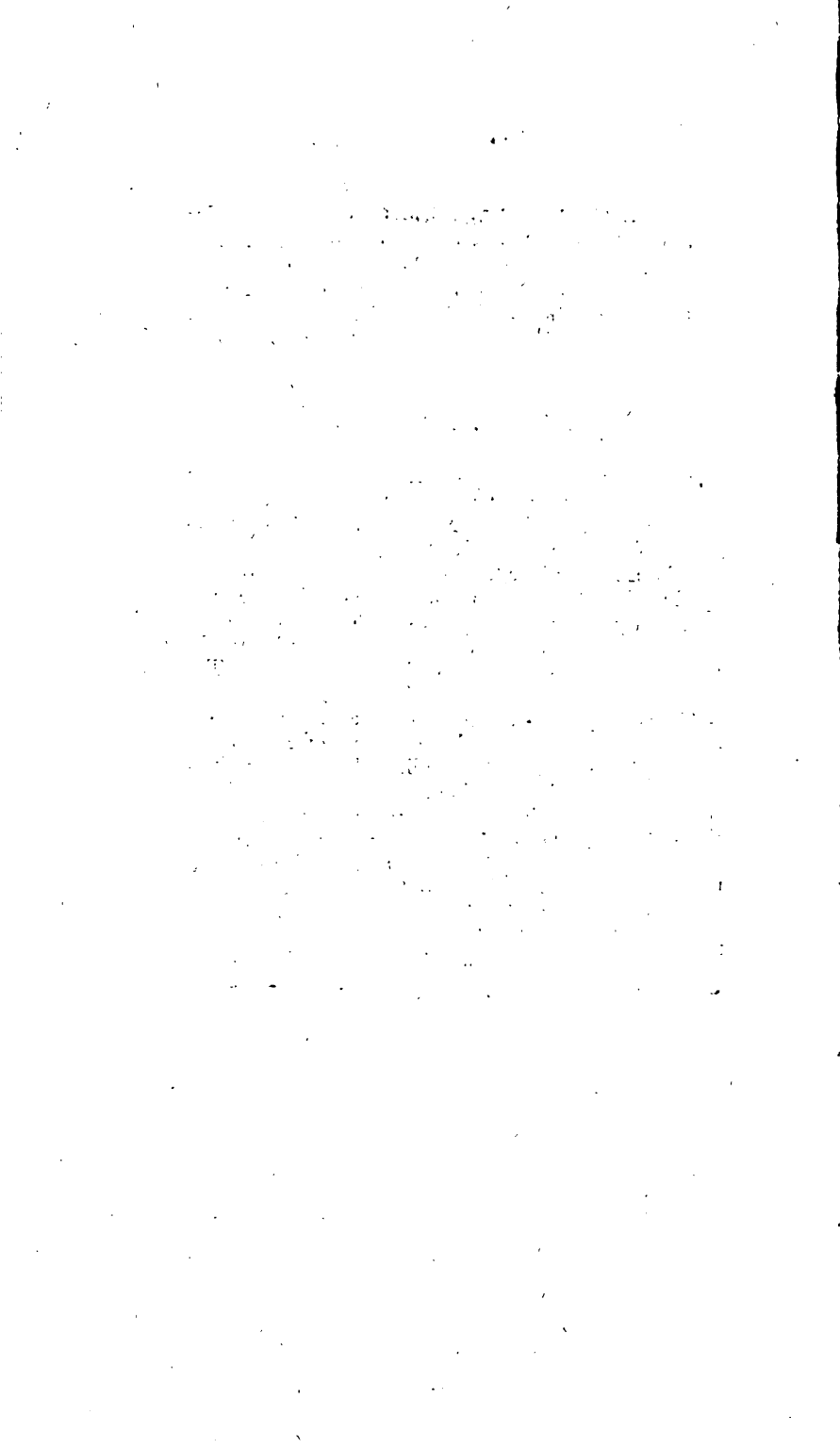
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ON the western point of Europe, a fertile region extends from the straits of Gibraltar to the Pyrenean mountains, above five hundred and ninety miles in length, and, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, five hundred and eighty miles in breadth. The Phœnicians, who first discovered this wealthy peninsula, bestowed on it the name of SPAIN; they were attracted to its coasts by the same spirit of nautical adventure that afterwards impelled the Spaniards to explore the southern continent of America; and more than a thousand years before the birth of Christ, beneath their auspices, the city of Gades arose on a promontory of the island of Leon, which was separated by a narrow channel from the ancient province of Bœtica, and soon became the emporium of commerce.

A. C. 229. Eight centuries appear to have elapsed before the establishment of the colony of Gades seems to have excited the open jealousy of the Natives. At the expiration of that term, the Phœnicians found themselves involved in an unsuccessful struggle with the ferocious tribes which inhabited Bœtica; and conscious of their declining strength, they called to their assistance the Carthaginians, who, themselves of Phœnician extraction, embraced with alacrity the kindred cause. The interest of the latter conspired with the resentment of their allies; and a short time after the conclusion of the
the

the first Punic war, Amilcar, the father of Hannibal, disembarked the forces of Carthage on the nearest coast of Spain.

He found a warm, but genial climate; the air pure, the soil fruitful, and refreshed by frequent rivers; the mountains abounded with copper, and with the more precious metals. But they were defended by numerous tribes of barbarians, who, although they consented to acknowledge the authority of different princes, were united by similar pursuits, and similar tempers. Bold, subtle, and sanguinary, they disdained the arts of peace, and devoted themselves to the toils of war. Their hours were alternately occupied by the care of their arms and their horses; and deprived of these, the martial Spaniards regarded life with indifference. Their garments were stained with various colours, their bodies painted, and their long hair decked with ornaments of silver and gold. At the distance of above twenty centuries, the same hereditary disposition may be traced: the haughty spirits of the men scorned, or their indolence rendered them averse to the fervile labours of agriculture; and where ever cultivation was necessary, the ungrateful duty was abandoned to a female hand.

The religion of the barbarians of Spain was suited to the rude and ignorant state in which they remained at the invasion of the Carthaginians: they acknowledged and adored one supreme Being, to whom their vows were paid, and their altars erected; deep and venerable groves were considered as the chosen residence of the deity, or the places more peculiarly adapted to his worship; and human sacrifice was deemed the most sacred and acceptable offering.

The jealousy and hatred of Rome, had first prompted Amilcar to aspire to the reduction of Spain. On that theatre he hoped to restore the

discipline of the armies, to recruit the exhausted coffers of Carthage, and to enable her to contend with success with the mistress of Italy. Nor was he disappointed in the bold and laborious enterprise. The riches of the country were the recompense of many a bloody and persevering conflict. From the shores of the Mediterranean he slowly advanced towards those of the Atlantic. In nine years of incessant warfare he subdued the province of Bœtica, which corresponds with modern Grenada and Andalusia; and penetrated into the country of the Lusitanians, which is now the kingdom of Portugal. The Lusitanians supplied their deficiency in arms and discipline by their native craft and courage. Though they were incapable of preserving their independence, they revenged the loss of it; and on the banks of the Tagus, Amilcar was encompassed, oppressed, and slain.

His brother Asdrubal succeeded to the command of his army and the execution of his designs; less able in war but more refined in negotiation, he conciliated the affections of those states which Amilcar had endeavoured to subdue. Lusitania admired his address and acknowledged his influence. The Callaici who still perpetuate their origin in Galicia, the tribes who occupied the modern countries of Leon, the two Castilles, Murcia, and Valencia, were prevailed upon to submit to his authority; even the Celtiberians, the most powerful of the barbarians, who possessed the present province of Aragon, and whose name describes their descent from the Celtæ, and their situation on the banks of the Iberus, had consented to receive the Carthaginian yoke, when the progress of Asdrubal was arrested by private resentment, and he himself fell a victim to the dagger of a servile assassin.

The fetters of Spain were riveted by the hand of Hannibal, the glory and the shame of Carthage;
and

and, who at the early age of twenty-five years surpassed in military skill his father Amilcar, and in political address his uncle Asdrubal. Two years were consumed in securing the conquests of his predecessors, and in the beginning of the third he led his forces to the siege of Saguntum, a city which had been founded by the Greeks on the shores of the Mediterranean, and on the borders of Valencia; the Saguntines confided in the protection of Hercules, and the alliance of Rome. But their hopes of divine assistance, and their expectations of mortal succour, were equally vain; and it was by their native valour, and the strength of their walls, that they were enabled to baffle during eight months the efforts of the besiegers. The fall of a lofty tower at length disclosed to the Carthaginians the secret avenues of the city; but even then their avarice was disappointed by the invincible resolution or frantic despair of the inhabitants; and the Saguntines setting fire to their houses, involved themselves, their families, and their effects, in general destruction.

Beyond the stream of the Iberus, and between that river and the Pyrenean mountains the Vascones and Iltergetes possessed the same districts as compose at present the kingdom of Navarre and the province of Catalonia. They had heard of the fate of Saguntum, and their consternation was revealed in their feeble resistance; they submitted to the victor, and Spain transiently acknowledged the dominion of Carthage. The terror of arms was probably improved by negotiation; the same qualities which rendered Hannibal the idol of his soldiers, enabled him to reconcile the jarring passions of hostile and rival nations; when he presumed to measure the strength and fortune of the African republic with those of Rome, twenty thousand Spaniards with alacrity marched beneath his standard, traversed

traversed with him the Pyrenean mountains, and the Alps; and claimed their share in the danger and glory of the bloody fields of Trebia, of Thrasymene, and of Cambræ.

It was not solely on the affections of Spain that Hannibal relied for her obedience during his absence. Fifteen thousand Africans were left under the command of his brother Asdrubal, to secure and protect the country from the mouth of the Boëtis, to the banks of the Iberus; and ten thousand infantry and one thousand horse were entrusted to an officer of the name of Hanno who awed the turbulent hordes between the Iberus and the Pyrenees.

The precaution was the natural result of the sagacity of the chief who adopted it. Rome scarce was informed of the design of Hannibal to penetrate into Italy, before she prepared to deprive him of the resources which he might draw from Spain, by transporting the war into that country. Cneius Scipio at the head of a formidable army encountered in the country of the Iltergetes the troops of Hanno; the Carthaginians were defeated; and from the Pyrenean mountains to the Iberus, the tribes and cities of Spain submitted to the authority of Rome.

A. C. 204,
196. The forces of Cneius Scipio were swelled by the junction of the troops of his

brother Publius, who with the title of proconsul was appointed to the conduct of the Spanish war. The kindred chiefs extended their enterprises beyond the stream of the Iberus, restored the walls of Saguntum, and during seven years of martial toils maintained the ascendancy of Rome. The Edetani who had seized the moment of their absence to revolt, were severely chastised, and their capital, the modern city of Lerida, was abandoned to the rapacity of the Roman soldiers. Within the hilly district of Lusitania, Asdrubal

Ardubal eluded the pursuit of his enemies; but he was forced to relinquish the open country to their arms; and the Scipios already revolved the total reduction of Spain, when they perished by their own temerity. Elated by a series of victory, they divided their forces to improve their advantages more rapidly. It is probable the natives had always regarded their progress with secret discontent; they embraced the moment when their troops were disunited; to the north of the Iberus, on the frontiers of the Sueffetani, Publius was deserted by his allies, and oppressed by the forces of Spain, of Carthage, and of Numidia; and as Cneius returned to avert, or avenge the fate of his brother, the levity or treachery of his barbarian followers involved him in the same destruction. The Celtiberians retired from his standard; and his scanty band of Romans was encountered and overwhelmed by the hosts of their enemies.

The chastisement of the Spaniards, and the expulsion of the Carthaginians, were committed to the kindred hand of Cornelius, the son of Publius Scipio. That hero, who was afterwards better known by the surname of *Africanus*, was when only twenty-four years old invested with the proconsular dignity, and appointed to the command which had been held by his father. He found the Romans incamped behind the stream of the Iberus, and though under the conduct of Lucius Martius they had surprised the Carthaginian camp, their late success had not effaced the remembrances of their former disasters. They were taught to contemn the feeble protection of the river by the example of their new general; from its banks to the province of *Bætica* their adventurous valour was respected by the barbarians, and they traversed the extent of Spain without encountering an enemy.

A. C. 193,
192.

On

On a peninsula which stretches towards the opposite continent of Africa from the ancient country of the Contestani, and the modern province of Murcia, New Carthage, whose name sufficiently reveals her founders, had under the influence of commerce and civil administration arisen to opulence and grandeur; and had been established by the Carthaginians as the seat of their government, and the repository of their arms and treasures. While Scipio invested the city by land, the Roman fleet under Lælius blocked up the mouth of the harbour; on the side towards the sea the garrison had trusted to that element for their protection, and a low and narrow wall was rather designed to repel the waves than exclude the enemy. The retiring tide left the water fordable at the foot of the rampart; and Scipio was no sooner apprised of the circumstance than he prepared to avail himself of it. Five hundred chosen soldiers were animated by the example of their chief; with venturous steps they explored in silence their course; scaled the wall; and while the attention of the garrison was diverted by a feigned attack from the land, they were astonished by the tremendous sound of the Roman trumpets in the heart of the city. A martial band under the command of Mago in vain endeavoured to maintain the citadel against the ardour of the assailants: they were compelled after a short resistance to surrender at discretion, and the accumulated riches of New Carthage became the prize of the victors.

In the reduction of New Carthage the Spaniards had admired the enterprising genius and daring valour of Scipio; in the use of victory they were forced to applaud his generosity and moderation. Among the captives a beautiful virgin who was betrothed to Allucius, a prince of Celtiberiá, was presented by the Roman soldiers to their general as the
most

most acceptable reward of his martial labours. The gallantry and chastity of Scipio might, in a rude and unpolished age, have instructed the Romans, and must have conciliated the regard of the barbarians. He turned from the alluring charms of the fair, and restored her in safety to her royal lover, whose alliance was the immediate consequence of his honourable forbearance.

The virtues of an invader are probably the most dangerous instruments he can employ against the people whose conquest he meditates. The union of the states of Spain might have prolonged at least the term of their independence ; but the generosity of Scipio had been diffused through the various tribes of the Celtiberians ; the greatest part of the country from the Iberus to the Sucro, declared in favour of the Romans ; and the native bands of Allucius, under the conduct of their prince, marched beneath the banners, and exulted in the dependent title of the auxiliaries of Rome.

Not far from the shores of the Mediterranean where a branch of the Iberus winds towards the Pyrenean mountains, the Lacetani occupied part of the present province of Catalonia. Turbulent in peace, but bold and ardent in war, they were distinguished by the same features as mark the modern Catalans. Jealousy of Rome, or gratitude to Carthage had fixed their prince in the interests of the African republic ; and in the destruction of Publius Scipio the name of Indibilis had been transmitted to Italy as the most formidable of the barbarian chieftains of Spain. Steady in his enmity or attachments, he still propped the declining cause of Carthage ; and Asdrubal might be urged by his resolution to await the approach of the Roman army. But the contest was fatal to the hopes of the Lacetanian prince, and the Carthaginian chief ; the undisciplined valour of the Spaniards, and the rapidity

pidity of the Numidian squadrons, were incapable of disconcerting the steady order of the Roman legions; Indibilis and Asdrubal fled; and the recall of the latter to join the forces of his brother Hannibal in Italy, left Scipio to establish his ascendancy in Spain.

The Spaniards in the alliance of Carthage were a second time defeated near the Boetis; and Aurinx, a city of lower Bœtica, was taken and plundered by the victors. But the spirits of the Spaniards were restored by the intelligence that Scipio had passed over into Africa; they had scarce time to resume their arms before they were astonished by the rapid return of the Roman general. The city of Illiturgis, which was situated near the modern town of Andujar, was assaulted and stormed by Scipio; and Astuto, which has dwindled into the insignificant village of Cazlone, was reduced by Lucius Martius.

In the country of the Edetani, and probably not far from the city of Lerida, twenty thousand Spanish infantry and two thousand five-hundred cavalry under the princes Indibilis and Mardonius were assembled to defend their own independence, or to support the fortunes of Carthage. They were attacked, broken, and slaughtered by the Romans; the fate of Indibilis and Mardonius is buried in obscurity, but seventeen thousand of their followers perished on the disastrous field; the open country submitted to the conqueror; and Scipio impatient to expel the Carthaginians from Spain, instantly formed the siege of Gades, within the walls of which the remnant of their armies was united. The fortifications of that city yielded to the machines of the besiegers, and the triumphant eagles of the Romans were displayed from the Pyrenean mountains to the mouth of the Boetis.

When

When the republic of Carthage sunk beneath the superior virtue or fortune of her rival, the peninsula of Spain was yielded by the vanquished party to the victors; and Rome imposed on that country the name and condition of a dependent province.

A. C. 155,
192.

It is the observation of Seneca, that wheresoever the Roman conquers, he inhabits; and the maxim was confirmed by the numerous colonies which soon diffused themselves over the face of Spain. The lofty situation of the city of Tarragona protected it from a surprise, and in an age when the art of war was but little known, enabled it to defy the attacks of a numerous army. Its vicinity to the Mediterranean Sea was peculiarly happy for the purposes of commerce in peace; and permitted the Romans, by a short and safe navigation, to pour their forces in war into Spain, without being exposed to a dangerous and tedious march through the hostile and barbarous states of Gaul, and across the rugged and inhospitable heights of the Pyrenees. It soon assumed the splendour of a capital, and became the seat of government for the province of *citerior* Spain, which occupied the northern part of the peninsula from the Pyreneans to the mouth of the Durus or Duero.

The province of *ulterior* Spain comprised the rest of the peninsula, which included the modern countries of Portugal, Grenada, and Andalusia. The first, which had scarcely felt the impression of the Roman arms, was distinguished, as we have already observed, by the name of Lusitania; and the two latter were afterwards confounded in the general appellation of *Boetica*.

It is not to be supposed that a people fond of independence, and indifferent to danger, would long endure with patience the yoke of servitude. In hither Spain Sempronius, who,

A. C. 155.
141.

who, with the rank of prætor, commanded a Roman army, was suddenly attacked and destroyed, with all his forces; and in further Spain the flames of revolt blazed forth with more open violence. But the same spirit of disunion continued to render abortive the struggles of the Spaniards. Marcus Porcius, whose surname of Censor, was the fruit of his austerity in that office, landed with two legions at Rhoda, a port of Catalonia which still subsists under the kindred appellation of Roses, and in a variety of conflicts restored the ascendancy of the Roman armies. His successor, Fulvius Flaccus, reduced the Vaccæi, whose capital is still recognized on the borders of Asturia by its former name of Palantia. In a bloody battle the Celtiberians paid the penalty of their rashness; and their chastisement seemed for a moment to intimidate the haughty spirits of the barbarians.

An hardy band collected in the mountains still preferred the freedom of those barren regions to the subjection of the fertile plains beneath; the oppression of the Romans soon summoned them from their recesses to avenge the injuries, and assert the liberties of their country: Lucullus, who in the quality of proconsul governed *hither* Spain, had been received into the town of Pauca on articles of capitulation; but he basely violated the conditions he had subscribed; and was no sooner admitted within the gates, than he let loose the rage and avarice of his followers; and of twenty thousand citizens, scarce five hundred escaped to accuse his cruel perfidy. In *further* Spain the prætor, Galba, disgraced the Roman name by a repetition of the same sanguinary fraud: a considerable number of the Lusitanians had offered to submit to the authority of Rome; the prætor affected to listen with compassion to their distress, and promised them in a more fertile region those advantages which their own country denied them;

them; but they were scarcely separated before they had reason to repent their fond confidence in the Roman faith; they were attacked, defenceless, and disunited; and the few who escaped served only to inflame their countrymen with an implacable detestation of Rome.

The love of freedom, and the thirst of revenge, had assembled a numerous army of warlike Lusitanians, who retaliated on the Spanish territories of Rome the injuries that had been inflicted on their countrymen; but in their march through Turditanian, or modern Andalusia, their impatience betrayed them into the midst of a rugged and mountainous country, the defiles of which had been occupied by the Romans. The difficulties which presented themselves on every side induced them to treat with Vetilius, who had succeeded Galba in command; and the Roman leader readily promised, on condition that they should acknowledge the sovereignty of Rome, to assign them lands that would supply a necessary subsistence to their industry. The recent fate of their countrymen could not but inspire them with some distrust; the moment of hesitation was improved by the remonstrances of Viriatus, who in the obscure station of a private soldier, possessed the talents of a general, and the soul of a hero. "Remember," exclaimed he, "the perfidy of Lucullus, and of Galba; respect my counsels, and I will engage to deliver you from the snare in which you are entangled." The tone of confidence he assumed awakened new hope in the desponding bosoms of the Lusitanians; they committed themselves to his superior genius, and their obedience was rewarded by immediate safety. While with a thousand horse he opposed an extended line to the Roman legions, and menaced in appearance a general engagement, he directed the rest in small parties to pursue separate and unfrequented

A. C. 143,
135.

frequented paths, which he himself had explored in search of game, or of spoil; and to rendezvous under the walls of Tribola. His orders were executed with promptitude and success; and no sooner was he assured of the retreat of his infantry, than he followed with his horse their footsteps, with a swiftness and dexterity that eluded all pursuit.

The Roman historians have lavished on Viriatus the opprobrious terms of rebel and robber; they have reluctantly confessed his skill and courage; his temperance and chastity in private, his faith and generosity in public life. His youth had been devoted to the toils of the chase; and in an age and country where the limits of justice and property were slightly traced, he might deem it no ignoble deed to despoil by his single strength the Roman of that wealth which he had extorted from the oppressed natives of Spain. If these practices in a more enlightened and civilized period have reflected some dishonour on his character, they were effaced by the general integrity he observed when possessed of power. The spirit of the hardy hunter, or licentious rover, soon emerged from obscurity and disgrace; by his late services he was established in the command of the army that he had preserved; his superior fame attracted to his standard a crowd of Lusitanians inured to danger, and enamoured of independence; his authority was founded on the most solid basis, the free suffrages of his countrymen, and Rome must have acknowledged, that he rose to power by the same qualities as Romulus attained it; a more daring valour, and a more sagacious mind.

Those qualities were consecrated to vindicate the independence of Spain, and to check the rapid progress of Roman dominion; his head and hand equally contributed to his glory. He seems to have possessed the peculiar art of directing successfully the impetuous valour of his countrymen against
troops

troops not less brave, and better disciplined, than themselves. With him flight was the frequent prelude to victory; and he was never more formidable than when he appeared to dread or to shun his adversary.

The first who felt his arms, and was ensnared by his arts, was Vetilius himself, who, impatient of the triumph that had evaded his grasp in Turdania, pressed forward to seize it under the walls of Tribola; but as he urged his march with inconsiderate ardour through a country embarrassed by woods, and broken by mountains, he was suddenly assailed by the fierce and numerous bands of Viriatus. The legions confessed the impressions of surprise and fear, and were confounded by the rapid and desultory attacks of their enemies; they fled; and of ten thousand, near one half perished in the action or pursuit. Vetilius himself fell alive into the hands of the victors; but the barbarians, accustomed only to esteem their captives in proportion to their vigour and activity, regarded with contempt his age and corpulence. Some resentment might be inspired by the remembrance of the perfidy of Lucullus and Galba; and the sword of a Lusitanian deprived Viriatus of the glory of detaining in chains a Roman general.

Viriatus would have ill deserved the reputation of sagacity, had he in the pride of victory neglected the means of improving it. The arms of the legionaries were distributed among the companions of his fortune. The renown of his achievements allured fresh thousands to his standard; and at the head of a numerous and zealous army he beheld himself capable of undertaking more important enterprises.

Ten thousand foot, and thirteen hundred horse, had landed in Spain from Italy, under the conduct of the prætor Caius Plantius, to support the authority

city of the republic. They were joined by the troops which had survived the defeat of Vetilius; and by the Spaniards who still owned the influence, or dreaded the arms of Rome. In their march from Tarragona towards the banks of the Tagus, they were harassed by the attacks of Viriatus; and four thousand who had been detached from the main army were surrounded and cut off by the Lusitanian chief. Encouraged by this second proof of the valour of his followers, Viriatus aspired to a more honourable victory: he met, in an open field of battle, the legions and allies of Rome. The ardour of the latter was probably chilled by the sight of the kindred ensigns of their adversaries; and they might desert without ignominy a field where victory would have only served to have riveted their own shackles. The former were broken, dispersed, or slaughtered; the remnant sought shelter within the walls of the neighbouring cities that were retained in subjection by the strength of their garrisons; but the open country hailed Viriatus as the deliverer of Spain; and his name was the subject of triumph from the Iberus to the Boëtis.

In the hour of calamity and defeat, the fortitude and resources of Rome were most conspicuous: Viriatus had scarcely established his triumph over Plantius before he was informed of the approach of Claudius Unimanus; yet the fate of Unimanus was the same as that of his predecessor; and vanquished in battle, he escaped with difficulty from the pursuit of the victors.

The fortune and renown of Viriatus were revealed in the appointment of a chief to oppose him, who was descended and allied to an illustrious race of heroes. Quintus Fabius Æmilianus was the brother of the younger Scipio, and was invested with the dignity of consul when he was named to the conduct of the war in Spain. The virtues of Scipio
Africanus

Africanus were yet fresh in the memories of the barbarians; and the love of freedom might at least be checked by esteem and gratitude. Several tribes of hither Spain followed willingly a leader whose name was still the object of their veneration. Yet Viriatus was neither daunted by the reputation of his adversary, nor dismayed by the levity of his countrymen. He frequently defied him to battle; and the consulate of Æmilianus expired without his being able to obtain any decisive advantage over his antagonist. In the quality of proconsul his military command was prolonged a second year; and although the Roman writers assert that he at last vanquished in battle the Lusitanian chief, yet the strength of the latter appears to have been unimpaired; and he defeated, the two ensuing years, Quinctius and Servilianus, the successors of Æmilianus.

The example and negotiations of Viriatus had been extended into *hither* Spain; and he had projected an extensive confederacy throughout the tribes of the Spanish peninsula, which probably might have prescribed bounds to the ambition of the Roman republic; but he was sensible that it was alone in the hour of tranquillity that he could firmly establish his authority, and recruit the exhausted strength of his country for the arduous designs he meditated: he seized the moment of prosperity to negotiate an advantageous peace. The fears of Servilianus were improved by the address of the Lusitanian; and a treaty was signed by the former, and ratified by the senate of Rome; by which Viriatus was acknowledged as the friend and ally of the Roman people, and the Lusitanians were confirmed in the independent possession of those regions which at that time they had either actually acquired or retained.

It is difficult to discern at this distance, what were the limits of the new dominions of Viriatus; yet we may naturally conjecture that they embraced the greatest part of further Spain. Arsa, which he had fixed on as the future capital of his kingdom, was situated at no great distance from the banks of the Anas, and about half way between the modern cities of Cordova and Alcántara; nor is it probable that the prudence or policy of Viriatus would have suffered him to have established the seat of his government on the utmost verge of his territories.

While Viriatus was intent on the arts of peace, and the embellishments of Arsa, he heard with astonishment the hostile sound of the Roman trumpet. The haughty spirit of Rome had been wounded by the late treaty she had subscribed; and her reputation was mortally injured by the perfidy with which she broke it. The government of whatever remained to the republic in further Spain had been allotted to Quintus Servilius Cœpio, who pressed the senate for permission to renew the war against Viriatus. That assembly was less attentive to the honour than the aggrandisement of the republic; and without any previous intimation of hostilities, Cœpio, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, rapidly advanced towards Arsa.

Surprized, and unequal to resistance, Viriatus, on his approach, abandoned with indignation his capital, which he was incapable of defending, and retired within the mountains of the Carpetani, who inhabited the country which is known at present by the name of New Castille. He was pursued and encompassed by Cœpio; but the same arts which had delivered him from the arms of Vetilius, were again practised with success against Cœpio. His followers dispersed themselves by unfrequented paths through the woods and mountains; and though

though the weakness of the barbarians allowed them not to chastise the perfidy, the skill of their commander enabled them to elude the vengeance of Rome.

The assertor of his country's freedom was not indifferent to her happiness; and the lawless rover whose glory had been established in war, sighed for the tranquil blessings of peace. He negotiated; but he negotiated in arms; and perhaps Viriatus never appeared more truly great, than when with a slender band hastily assembled he observed and harrassed the march of the Roman legions, and taught Cæpio to respect his genius in the hour of adversity. In every desultory conflict he maintained his wonted ascendancy; and after every successful action he renewed his proposals for peace. The Roman consul affected to listen with pleasure to the terms that were offered; but beneath the appearance of a treaty, he cherished a dark design as injurious to his own honour as to that of Rome. Open and magnanimous, the mind of Viriatus readily ascribed the same virtues to others as he himself was possessed of. If repeated instances of Roman perfidy might warn him to guard against the artifices of that republic, the consciousness of his own services allowed him not to adopt the slightest precaution against the treachery of his countrymen. But the deputies, whom he had entrusted with the conduct of the negotiation, were corrupted by the gold and splendid promises of Cæpio; they agreed to assassinate the defender of their county; and they performed the engagement with infamous fidelity. Viriatus had deserved, and he confided in, the affection and attachment of his followers; the tent of the Lusitanian chief was unprotected by guards or sentinels, and open to access at every hour to the meanest soldier; he was the victim of his honest

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boldness;

boldness; and, invincible in arms, he perished by domestic treason. At midnight, as in his armour he snatched a short and necessary repose from the toils and cares of his station, he was assailed by the daggers of the conspirators; their weapons were plunged into his throat, the only part exposed; and he instantly expired, most probably ignorant of the ingratitude and treachery of those whom he had loved and trusted.

In every age and country the same abhorrence of vice has prevailed, though not to the same degree; the treason may be loved, but the traitor must be detested; and when the assassins of Viriatus presented themselves before Cœpio, and demanded the promised reward of their crime, they were admonished by the answer of the consul how little fidelity can exist in the confederacy of guilt: he told them they might retain in safety what they had already received; but insultingly added, it was only from the justice of the Roman senate they must expect any further gratification.

The Lusitanians lamented the loss, and honoured the memory of their much-loved general. His funeral was solemnized with barbarian magnificence; but their weakness allowed them not to fulfil the duty of revenge, which, in their savage state, the tribes of Spain would have deemed the most grateful offering to the shade of the deceased hero. Their unanimous suffrages called to supply his place Tantalus, who possibly was recommended by the same love of independence, but who certainly possessed not the same ability as his predecessor. He sunk beneath the difficulties of his situation. The very ground which had been the theatre of glory to Viriatus, was the scene of disgrace and humiliation to his successor; he had rashly undertaken, and hastily abandoned the siege of Saguntum; in their retreat the Lusitanian army
were

were entangled within the passes of the mountains; and the superior genius of their former general was acknowledged and regretted in their vain efforts to extricate themselves; by a disgraceful capitulation they were stripped of their arms, and were dispersed, by the policy of the victors, to different and distant colonies; the cities on the banks of the Boetis returned again to their obedience; the Roman eagles were displayed in triumph through the western and northern districts of Spain; Junius Brutus passed the Duero, and penetrated to the coast of Galicia; from the utmost point of Cape Finisterre the Romans cast a look of astonishment on the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean; and on their return, Rome might listen with admiration to the fabulous tales of her enterprising sons, who boldly affirmed they had beheld in those remote regions, the sun yield to the approach of night, and sink into the western main, with a mighty and tremendous noise.

The lofty superstructure of dominion which had been erected by the ambition or patriotism of Viriatus, fell with him who had planned it; and from the death of that chief the Lusitanians beheld their fertile fields laid waste, and their cities reduced to ashes. Yet every want was compensated, and every calamity atoned, by the enthusiastic ardour of freedom. In the distant recesses of their mountains they still breathed the pure air of independence; and to the Roman senate, which endeavoured to impose on them the ignominious badge of tribute, an high-spirited people more tenacious of their honour and their liberty than their property, boldly replied, that "their ancestors had left them steel" to defend their possessions, instead of gold to redeem them."

While the Lusitanians cherished the sacred flame of freedom amidst their barren mountains, its fire had been felt and confessed by the Celtiberians, whose situation exposed them

A. C. 142,
128.

them with more facility to the arms of Rome. Near the source of the Duero, and probably on the confines of hither and further Spain, arose the city of Numantia; and the accurate eye of a modern geographer has fixed its situation a little above the present city of Soria. Numantia had listened with attention to the achievements and remonstrances of Viriatus, and while that chief vindicated the independence of Lusitania, Numantia asserted her native right to the free and equal condition she had known before the intrusion of the Romans; the same cause was embraced by the neighbouring city of Termes, which still preserves her name without her population. Their youth sallied from their gates, repulsed in open fight the disciplined valour of the Romans, and inflamed the spirits of their countrymen by the liberal distribution of the spoil. Intimidated by the approach of Quintus Pompeius at the head of thirty thousand veterans, they condescended to treat of submission; but they rejected with contempt the rigorous and ignominious conditions which would have despoiled them of their fortifications and their arms. "Brave men," exclaimed they, never quit their arms but with "their lives." Indignation and despair supplied the want of numbers; vanquished in battle, the Roman general was compelled to accept of a treaty by which they delivered up the Roman prisoners and deserters, and engaged for the payment of thirty talents at different periods.

But when Viriatus was no more, and
 A. C. 142,
 128. the imprudence of Tantalus had confined the hopes, or at least the resistance of the Lusitanians within the limits of their mountains, the cities of Numantia and Termes were exposed to the whole weight of Roman ambition and resentment. The senate had sternly refused to ratify the treaty that had been subscribed by Pompey, and

and without restoring the hostages, or refunding the money, instantly displayed again the signal of hostility. The Numantians beheld from their walls the approach of the Roman army under Popilius Lœnas; and disdaining the advantages of their ramparts and situation, they rushed forth to an open encounter. Their happy temerity was rewarded with success; and the remnant of the Roman army that escaped their fury, preserved during the remainder of the campaign an awful distance.

The succeeding spring the Roman ensigns were again displayed within sight of Numantia, and the inhabitants of that city again sallied forth to engage their adversaries; twenty thousand Romans were slaughtered by four thousand Numantians; and the consul Hostilius Mancinus, with the wretched fugitives from the disastrous field, were surrounded by the victors on every side. They were preserved from famine or the sword by a treaty, which was ratified by the most solemn oaths of Mancinus and his principal officers. The conditions of it have been buried in studied silence by the Roman historians: and the oblivion to which they have consigned it, and the situation of the vanquished army, strengthen the conjecture, that the independence of Numantia was formally expressed, and was the stipulation that ransomed the lives of Mancinus and his soldiers.

The Numantians were again defrauded of the fruits of victory by the perfidy of their adversaries, and the treaty concluded by Mancinus was violated by the Roman senate with the same facility as that which had been subscribed by Pompey. Yet they affected to disguise their breach of faith beneath the appearance of rigid justice; and by the authority of that assembly, Mancinus was delivered in chains to the resentment of the Numantians. These, with becoming magnanimity, rejected the proffered victim.

victim. "It is not," said they, "the sacrifice of a private man that can atone for a breach of the public faith."

The avarice of Emilius Lepidus, who had been appointed successor to Mancinus, had prompted him to undertake the siege of Palantia, the capital of the Vaccæi; and he incurred the double disgrace of abandoning in haste an enterprize that had been concerted without justice. His retreat did not escape the vigilant and active resentment of the besieged; he was pursued, overtaken, and defeated; and six thousand legionaries expiated with their lives the guilt of their general.

If the Spaniards were elated by success, they were soon convinced by mournful experience of the vicissitudes of war. The city of Palantia was besieged, and compelled to surrender by Calphurn Piso; that of Termes was probably about the same time obliged to acknowledge the sovereignty of Rome; the Lusitanians were still confined within the fortresses of their mountains; and the Numantians could not hear without some emotions of fear that a *second* Scipio Africanus, who rivalled the martial fame of the *first*, was appointed to conduct against them the flower of the Roman legions.

It is not probable that the pride of Rome suffered her to diminish the account of the number of her enemies; and by the confession of her own historians, the Numantians capable of bearing arms exceeded not ten thousand. But they were united by the same hopes, and the same danger; and had their adversaries presumed immediately to oppose their ardour on the field of battle, the remembrance of former victories might have been the prelude to new ones. But Scipio, though at the head of sixty thousand soldiers, declined the inauspicious walls of Numantia; and suffered an
year

year to elapse in restoring and confirming the discipline of his soldiers before he ventured to approach that city. His march was retarded by the attacks of the Numantians; but their impetuous valour was compelled to yield to the steady courage of the Romans. When upbraided by their countrymen, that they had fled before those whom they had so frequently vanquished;—"The Romans," replied they, "are indeed the same sheep, but they have got a different shepherd." With a sigh of despair and indignation they beheld their fields laid waste by the invaders; and their last retreat within the walls of Numantia, was soon followed by the close blockade of that devoted city.

The city of Numantia arose on a lofty hill, and its walls, of three miles in circumference, were manned by four thousand brave and vigorous citizens, whose minds were fortified by the love of liberty, and the contempt of death. Could any honourable terms of peace have satisfied their enemies, they would have willingly subscribed them. The intolerant spirit of Rome demanded the surrender of their arms, their city, and their persons, to be disposed of at the discretion of the senate; and the Numantians preferred a glorious death to a life of servitude. They sallied from their walls, and defied the host of their besiegers to battle. But the prudence of Scipio restrained his soldiers within the lines, and the Numantians as they returned revolved in anxious horror a lingering fate by famine. One hope remained, to rouse in their defence the martial tribes of Spain. Five aged warriors, each attended by his son, undertook to penetrate the works of the besiegers; they pierced the Roman lines, hewed down the guard that opposed them, and escaped before the Numidian horse could be assembled for pursuit. But the attempt was more honourable to themselves than serviceable to their countrymen;

countrymen; the emotions of compassion were overwhelmed by those of fear; and of the numerous and powerful states of Spain, one city alone yielded to the noble ardour, and assumed their arms for the relief of Numantia.

The walls of Lutia have been levelled by time or policy; and no monuments remain to mark the spot on which they stood. Yet one generous action has immortalized her fame; and when she embraced the sinking fortunes of the Numantians, she rescued her own name for ever from oblivion. But before her youth could buckle on their armour, they were surprised by the appearance of Scipio at their gates. The Roman general had been apprised of their design, and with a select detachment had pressed forward to vengeance. Lutia was incapable of resistance; and four hundred of the noblest youths were the miserable victims to the implacable severity of Scipio. Their right hands were lopped from them; and their mutilated appearance warned the neighbouring nations how dangerous it was to provoke the wrath of Rome.

In the grief of the Numantians for the fate of their generous allies, was mingled some concern for their own safety. Each hour diminished the scanty stock of their provisions, and augmented the number of their enemies. Their councils were influenced by famine and despair; and the deputation which issued from their gates, solicited Scipio to secure their future fidelity by receiving their submission on honourable terms, or to allow them the means of a glorious death in battle. The cold and laconic reply of the proconsul, that they must surrender at discretion, determined the Numantians. Sword in hand they sallied forth on their oppressors, and their bloody despair was gratified by the carnage of their enemies. Their strength was exhausted by the unequal conflict; but their spirits were

were far from subdued. They that were driven back into the city, set fire to their houses, and with their wives and families rushed on destruction. Fifty alone were with difficulty ravished from the flames to adorn the triumph of the victor; and after defying the power of Rome for fourteen years, Numantia was confounded in an heap of ashes by the indignant rage of her citizens.

The resistance of Numantia may be considered as the last memorable struggle of Spain for independence; and though the Cantabrians and Asturians, in the mountains of modern Biscay and Asturia, long cherished the sacred flame of freedom, and, confident in their native fastnesses, often invaded the fertility of the plains, and braved in their craggy retreat the resentment of Rome, yet their enterprises were confined to transient and predatory incursions. The greatest part of the peninsula acquiesced under the Roman yoke; and it was only in the civil dissensions of the republic, that her name in the course of an hundred years attracts our curiosity.

A. C. 128,
76.

When the party of Marius was overwhelmed in Italy by the superior genius or fortune of Sylla, the remnant found an asylum in Spain. The name of Sertorius is ranked with that of the most celebrated commanders of antiquity; and the mildness of his civil administration endeared him to the Spaniards, who had long been accustomed to groan beneath the rapacity of the Roman proconsuls. Yet Sertorius was himself distinguished by a quick and lively jealousy for the dignity of the republic. He was the enemy of the usurpation of Sylla, but not of Rome. He assumed himself the ensigns of a Roman officer; he bestowed on three hundred of his companions the title of Senator; and if he condescended to treat with the mountaineers of Lusitania and Cantabria as allies, he

A. C. 72, 71.

he scorned to violate the sovereignty of Rome, or to delude the Spaniards with the hopes of independence.

Sertorius was the victim of domestic treason; and the tribes of Spain who had embraced his cause were exposed to the resentment of Pompey, who commanded the army of the republic. In his return to Rome, that general, in his pretensions to a triumph, reckoned up eight hundred and seventy-one towns which he had reduced; and though many of these might be little more than walled villages, yet some probability must be allowed to the assertion, since under the reign of Vespasian, Pliny exhibited a list of three hundred and sixty Spanish cities.

A. C. 71, 46. It is probable that Pompey used his victory with moderation, since in the struggle for dominion between himself and Cæsar, Spain appears to have supported with ardour the fortune of the former. The banks of the Segra were the theatre of a long and doubtful contest between the lieutenants of Pompey and Cæsar himself. The commanding genius of the latter established his triumph; and Spain professed a reluctant submission to the conqueror.

A. C. 46, 40. When Pompey was no more, his memory was revered, and his sons were protected by the gratitude and affection of the tribes of Spain. The standard of opposition was again erected in that province, and the martial natives joined with alacrity the legions which still adhered to the Pompeian party. Their growing numbers, and rapid progress, demanded the presence of Cæsar. He landed at Saguntum; and in the plains of Munda, which, at some distance from Malaga, still preserve their ancient name, encountered a resistance not unworthy the conqueror of Gaul. The day was, however, unfavourable to the sons of Pompey; the flight

flight of the eldest served only to protract a few weeks a miserable and inglorious existence ; he was pursued, taken, and slain by Quintus Didius, the admiral of Cæsar ; but the younger gained the shelter of the Celtiberian mountains ; and was enabled, by the fidelity of the fearless inhabitants, to elude the active enmity of the victor.

Spain was far from acknowledging in the disastrous field of Munda, her own fortune. Quintus Didius, who had disembarked without caution on the coast of Lusitania, was surrounded and killed by the natives ; and his death might be considered as an acceptable sacrifice to the shade of the elder Pompey. The city of Munda endured a long and bloody siege ; and was at length taken by assault ; that of Cordova refused to open her gates but to Cæsar himself. Hispalis, which boasted its foundation from Hispal, one of the ancient princes of Spain, and still subsists under the name of Seville, consented to receive a Roman garrison ; but the inhabitants, in the night, admitted a party of Lusitanians ; and the Romans were attacked and slaughtered by the citizens, and their new allies. The walls of the guilty city were instantly assailed by Cæsar ; the Lusitanians were allured from the safeguard of the ramparts by a fictitious flight of the besiegers ; and while they indulged their ardour in the pursuit, they were encompassed, and broken by the Roman cavalry ; the citizens, unequal alone to the defence of their fortifications, threw themselves on the clemency of the conqueror. But though Cæsar consented to spare the lives of a prostrate people, he rigidly required and exacted the riches they were possessed of ; and the attachment of Spain to Pompey was atoned by the heaviest contributions.

From the moment that the Roman eagles had been displayed throughout that peninsula, the Spaniards might justly complain of the insatiate avarice of their new masters; and their assiduous labour in the mines could scarcely answer the incessant demands of Rome. The first Africanus, after the expulsion of the Carthaginians, transmitted to the treasury of the republic fourteen thousand three hundred and forty pounds of silver; Lucius Lentulus collected forty-four thousand pounds of silver, and two thousand five hundred of gold; Manlius twelve hundred pounds of silver; Cornelius Lentulus, in two years administration of *hither* Spain, amassed fifteen hundred pounds of gold, and two thousand pounds of silver; while the diligence of his colleague extorted from *further* Spain, in the same space of time, fifty thousand pounds of silver. Within nine years, a sum equal to five hundred thousand pounds sterling flowed from Spain into the treasury of Rome; and it is probable that the wealth which was diverted from the public channel by the avarice of individuals, was not much less. Yet these drains were far from exhausting the country; mention is made by Strabo of a mine near Carthagera which yielded every day twenty-five thousand drachms of silver, or about three hundred thousand pounds a year; and according to Pliny, twenty thousand pounds weight of gold was annually received from the provinces of Asturia, Gallicia, and Lusitania.

A. C. 25, 19. The total reduction and preservation of so wealthy a country could not but excite the attention of the Romans; and soon after Augustus had extinguished all competition by the battle of Actium, and established himself the undisputed master of the Roman world, he visited Spain in person, and fixed his residence in the city of Tarragona. The predatory incursions of the Cantabrians and Asturians were the pretence for

for a war, which probably was first suggested by avarice; and the Roman legions were attracted into the mountainous districts of modern Biscay and Asturia by the report of the precious metals with which they abounded. The natives defended their treasures and freedom with a valour worthy of their ancient renown. But the contest was too unequal to last long; twenty-three thousand of the Cantabrians were surrounded by the Romans and compelled to surrender. Ten thousand of the most vigorous were incorporated among the legions, and condemned to employ their strength and courage in the subjection of their countrymen; the rest were sold into servitude; but their despair disappointed the avarice of their purchasers; and the greatest part embraced with alacrity a voluntary death. The fate of the Asturians was scarce less terrible; two Roman armies entered from opposite sides their country, explored their retreats with persevering caution, and involved them in a general conflagration. The remnant that had escaped from the fire and the sword implored the clemency of the victors. From the northern extremity of the Pyrenees to Cape Ortegal, the fierce tribes of Cantabria and Asturia consented to receive the Roman yoke; a bridge of stone was thrown over the Iberus to preserve the more ready communication between the provinces; and the cities of Cæsar Augusta and Augusta Emerita, which still subsist under the names of Saragossa and Merida, were founded by Augustus on the northern extremity of the country of the Ede-tani, and on the banks of the river Anas.

The sanguinary chastisement of the Cantabrians had not broken their independent spirits; and five years had scarce elapsed from their late defeat, before they again rose in arms, and attempted to throw off the Roman yoke. Their despair summoned to the encounter Agrippa, the celebrated general, and son-

son-in-law of Augustus ; without a hope, or even a desire of pardon, the Cantabrians with tumultuous cries rushed to the charge, and the Roman legions shrunk from the first efforts of their rage. They were rallied, and conducted to victory by the example of their chief ; and after a long and bloody conflict, the barbarians yielded to the superior discipline and arms of their adversaries. Yet Agrippa confessed of the many engagements he had commanded in, this had proved the most severe and obstinate ; and his victory was purchased by the lives of his bravest legionaries. Though dear, however, it was complete ; and the Cantabrians were never again able to face their enemies in the field. Their strong holds were discovered and forced by the industry of the victors ; their castles were levelled : they were compelled to descend from their mountains, and cultivate the plain. They were taught to prefer the slow but certain advantages of agriculture to the precarious success of predatory adventure ; and about two hundred years from the first invasion of Spain by the Scipios, the arms of Agrippa extinguished the last sparks of independence throughout that great peninsula, and reduced it to the humble condition of a province of Rome.

In an age that had been distinguished by a rapid succession of the most uncommon revolutions, it is not surprising that the prudence of Augustus should divide the power of his lieutenants, and endeavour to disarm the ambition of an individual from aspiring to empire. It was this jealousy that probably suggested the new arrangement of Spain, which was distributed into three provinces, Tarraconensis, Lusitania, and Bœtica. Tarraconensis corresponded nearly with *hither* Spain, and embraced the modern counties of Galicia and the Asturias, Biscay, and Navarre, Leon and the two Castilles, Murcia, Valencia, Catalonia, and Arragon ; it occupied all the northern

northern part of the peninsula from the foot of the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Duero, where Lusitania commenced; from the Duero the confines of Lusitania were extended beyond those of the kingdom of Portugal, to the mouth of the Anas. From the Anas Boetica stretched along the western extremity of Spain, included the city of Gades and the rocky height of Calpe, whose ancient name is lost in that of Gibraltar; its boundaries were marked by the mountains of Orospeđa, or Sierra Morena, which envelope the source of the Bœtis, and by the city of Urci on the confines of Tarraconensis. Yet even broken and disjointed, the different provinces of Spain were still capable of relieving the poverty or of satisfying the avarice of their respective governors; and the administration of them for near four hundred years was deemed by the Romans the most desirable reward of their services.

CHAPTER II.

State of Spain until the reign of Gallienus.—Invasion of the Franks.—Is usurped by Constantine in the reign of Honorius.—Is betrayed or abandoned to the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani.—Their devastations.—They are attacked by Adolphus.—Death of Adolphus.—Achievements of Wallia.—Extirpates the Alani.—Vanquishes the Vandals and the Suevi.—Restores Spain to the Romans.—Exploits of the Vandals.—They defeat the Romans.—They plunder Majorca and Minorca.—They depart for Africa.—Devastations of the Suevi.—Theodoric king of the Goths marches to the relief of Spain.—His victory over the Suevi, who retire into Gallicia.—Euric the successor of Theodoric completes the reduction of the greatest part of Spain.—He is succeeded

ceeded by Alaric, who is killed in battle by Clovis. — Reign of Amalaric. — Administration and reign of Theudes. — The Visigoths elect Theodigile. — He is assassinated. — Civil war in Spain. — Athanegilde with the assistance of the Romans obtains the crown. — He is succeeded by Liuva and Leovigild. — Leovigild carries on a successful war with the Romans in Spain. — His sons Hermenigild and Recared are declared princes of the Goths. — Submission of the Cantabrians, &c. — Marriage and conversion of Hermenigild. — He rebels against his father. — Is vanquished and imprisoned. — Escapes from imprisonment. — Civil war. — Hermenigild is again made captive. — He negotiates with the Romans. — He is put to death. — Extinction of the kingdom of the Suevi in Spain. — Character and death of Leovigild.

FROM the division of Spain by Augustus, to the accession of Gallienus during more than two hundred and seventy years, that country in the humble condition of part of the Roman empire, enjoyed or abused the advantages of wealth and luxury. Twenty-five colonies which had been established by the care or interest of the parent state, soon diffused throughout the most remote districts of the peninsula the blessings of agriculture, and the monuments of public splendour. The rapacity of a needy or avaricious governor might transiently interrupt the general happiness; but the wounds which his administration could inflict were soon healed; the internal resources of the Spaniards restored their wonted prosperity; the grape and the olive were transplanted into Spain, and have flourished on the banks of the Tagus and the Boëtis; and the advanced state of Spanish husbandry under the reign of Tiberius has been elegantly described in the treatise of Columella, who

who was himself a Spaniard. The aqueduct of Segovia, and the stupendous bridge of Alcántara which was thrown over the Tagus by the contribution of a few Lusitanian communities, evince the spirit and ability of the provincials to project and execute the most useful and noble undertakings ; and the curious eye of the traveller may discover at Tarragona, in the ruins of the palace of Augustus, of the circus, and the amphitheatre, the ancient magnificence of those structures.

Yet it was not only by the works of art and labour that Spain was distinguished above the crowd of Roman provinces ; in the elegance and vigour of literary composition, she aspired to rival the parent state. Her pretensions to philosophy were substantiated by the two Senecas, who were born at Cordova ; the same city might in the birth of Lucan boast an epic poet, deemed by the too fond partiality of his admirers, not inferior to Virgil ; Florus was the offspring, and has been styled the ornament of Spain ; and Bilbillis, the native city of Martial, has gradually been corrupted into the name of Bamba ; but still serves to mark on the banks of the Xalón, the spot where that writer first indulged the sportive sallies of his pointed wit.

To obtain the palm in science and literature was no ignoble ambition ; yet, in every age, the prejudices of mankind have preferred the trophies of the warrior to the silent but more useful labours of the scholar. The toils and dangers of a military life can only be compensated or contemned by the hope of immortal fame. The generous passion was felt and displayed by Spain, Her sons urged in arms their pretensions to, and obtained the honours of the triumph. Their names were inscribed among the most illustrious of the consular senators ; and Rome ratified with transport the adoption of her emperor Nerva, when he chose from Spain a son and succes-

for. Trajan was born at Italica, which at present subsists in the name of Old Seville; and his countrymen might exult in a sovereign whose virtues have been deemed not inferior to those of the Scipios. The native place of Hadrian was the same as that of Trajan. The younger Antonine was also of Spanish extraction; and Spain might justly claim some glory from the lustre and happiness which, during their various administrations, her sons diffused over the wide extent of the Roman world.

A. D. 260. But when the gathering clouds of the north burst on the Roman empire, Spain was shaken by the violence of the tempest, and involved in the general night of darkness and calamity. The union and close confederacy of the modern kingdoms of France and Spain a few years since were considered as dangerous to the independence of Europe; but the name of the ancient Franks was first revealed to the Spaniards by their hostile and destructive invasion. From the banks of the Rhine they penetrated through the rugged passes of the Pyrenees; Tarragona, the flourishing capital of a peaceful province, was sacked, and almost destroyed; during twelve years they extended their devastations over the opulent and defenceless peninsula; nor did they abandon it until it was no longer able to supply their prodigal rapacity. The vessels which commerce had collected in the ports of New Carthage and Cadiz served to transport them into Mauritania. But the traces of their blind fury and devouring progress were long after their retreat to be discerned; at the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian æra, Herda and Lerida still remained in ruins; a few wretched peasants, the sole inhabitants of those once magnificent cities, reared their cottages amongst the fragments of palaces; and amidst the broken columns of Roman sculpture,

ture, might justly accuse the wanton rage of the barbarians.

Though bent by the storm, yet the grandeur of Spain was far from extinguished; the cities of Merida, Corduba, Seville, and Tarragona, still maintained their station amongst the most illustrious of the Roman world; and though an hundred and fifty years of peace had not totally obliterated the footsteps of the Franks, yet her natural productions had been improved by ingenuity and industry; her ports were again filled by innumerable vessels; her fertility and trade attracted the admiration and envy of the most distant nations; that martial spirit which had enabled her so long to resist the arms of Rome, seemed transiently to revive; and an hardy and faithful militia guarded with native valour and vigilance the important passes of the Pyrenees; and repelled the frequent attempts of the Germans.

When the feeble sway of Honorius encouraged the ambition of his generals and A. D. 409. lieutenants to usurp the imperial purple, and their rival claims consumed in civil dissensions that strength which might have been successfully opposed to the fierce myriads of the north, Constantine, who had been acknowledged by the armies of Gaul and Britain, achieved also the conquest, or received the submission of Spain. The only resistance he encountered was from the private zeal of the family of Theodosius. The four brothers, after an unsuccessful effort to maintain their ground at the head of the stationary troops of Lusitania, retired to their estates, where they levied and armed, at their own expence, a considerable body of slaves and dependants, and occupied the strong passes of the Pyrenean mountains. They were encompassed and oppressed by the promiscuous band of Scots, of Moors, and Marcomanni, who had been allured into his service by the liberality of Constantine.

Yet

Yet the reign of the usurper was short ; and before his death he was mortified by the revolt of Spain, which, at the influence of his general, Gerontius, invested Maximus with the imperial purple. The same fate involved Constantine, Maximus, and Gerontius : and they were overwhelmed by the superior fortune or genius of Constantine, the general, and afterwards the brother-in-law of Honorius.

A. D. 413. The mercenary troops of Constantine who had been intrusted with the defence of the passes of the Pyrenees were, on the death of that usurper, induced, either by the consciousness of their guilt, or by the hopes of rapine, to abandon their station ; and about ten months before the sack of Rome by the Goths, the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani poured through the straits of the mountains. It is doubtful whether they were invited by treachery, or attracted by negligence ; but their irruption was followed by the most dreadful calamities : the barbarians exercised their indiscriminate cruelty on the fortunes of the Romans and the Spaniards ; and ravaged with equal fury the cities and the open country. The progress of famine reduced the miserable inhabitants to feed on the flesh of their fellow-creatures ; and even the wild beasts, who multiplied without controul in the desert, were exasperated by the taste of blood, and the impatience of hunger, boldly to attack and devour their human prey. Pestilence soon appeared, the inseparable companion of famine ; a large proportion of the people was swept away ; and the groans of the dying excited only the envy of their surviving friends. At length the barbarians, satiated with carnage and rapine, and afflicted by the contagious evils which they themselves had introduced, fixed their permanent seats in the depopulated country. The ancient Gallicia, whose limits include the kingdom of Castille, was divided between

between the Suevi and the Vandals; the Alani were scattered over the provinces of Carthagera and Lusitania, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean; and the fruitful territory of Bœtica was allotted to the Silingi, another branch of the Vandalic nation. After regulating this partition, the conquerors contracted with their new subjects some reciprocal engagements of protection and obedience; the lands were again cultivated; and the towns and villages were again occupied by a captive people. The greatest part of the Spaniards were even disposed to prefer their new condition of poverty and barbarism to the severe oppressions of the Roman government. Yet there were many who still asserted their native freedom; and who refused, more especially in the mountains of Gallicia, to submit to the barbarian yoke.

Such, according to an eloquent historian of that country, was the miserable state of Spain, when the same means were employed to restore her to the subjection of Rome, as had been exerted to wrest her from it. Adolphus, the brother-in-law of the renowned Alaric, had been unanimously chosen to succeed to the vacant throne of the Goths. He professed his intention to employ his sword not to subvert, but to re-establish and maintain the prosperity of the Roman empire; and he was confirmed in his attachment to the cause of the republic by the ascendancy which a Roman princess had acquired over his heart and understanding. He admired his captive Placidia, the daughter of the great Theodosius, and the sister of the emperor Honorius. Placidia yielded without reluctance to the desires of a conqueror young and valiant; and her marriage with the Gothic king was celebrated in the presence of Italy. Adolphus marched against the tyrants beyond the Alps; and Honorius accepted from his hand the grateful presents of the heads of the brothers

thers Jovinus and Sebastian, who had assumed in Gaul the imperial purple.

A. D. 474,
415. It is probable that the Roman emperor regarded with jealousy the military services of his brother-in-law; and the prudence of his counsellors was displayed in the removal of Adolphus from the peaceful plenty of Italy. The Gothic king was persuaded to turn his victorious arms against the barbarians in Spain; and to undertake the conquest of that peninsula as the ally of Honorius. From Gaul he passed the Pyrenees; and surprised, in the name of the emperor, the city of Barcelona. But he had scarce time to exult in his success, before he fell the victim of domestic treason; he had imprudently received into his service one of the followers of Sarus, a barbarian chief, who had been sacrificed by Adolphus to a long and hereditary enmity; the death of Sarus was avenged by that of Adolphus, who perished in his palace of Barcelona, by the hand of the daring assassin; and Singeric, the brother of Sarus, in the moment of consternation usurped the Gothic throne, put to death the children of his predecessor, and compelled Placidia to attend on foot through the streets of Barcelona the triumph of her consort's murderer.

The cruelty of Singeric probably hastened his destruction; seven days after his usurpation, he also in his turn perished by the resentment of an individual; and the Gothic sceptre was, by the choice of the nation, committed to Wallia. From Barcelona, the new monarch marched in arms through the modern provinces of Valencia, Murcia and Grenada; and from the rock that is now covered by the fortress of Gibraltar, he revolved the invasion of the opposite coast of Africa. He was diverted from the enterprise by a violent tempest, and by the remonstrances of the imperial court; and in a solemn treaty Wallia engaged

gaged to imitate the example of Adolphus, and to draw his sword in the service of Honorius. The barbarian princes of Spain were animated by the same passions, and were excited by the same pretensions; the flames of war blazed forth from the foot of the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Boëtis. The contending chiefs are said to have addressed their letters, their ambassadors, and their hostages, to the throne of the western emperor, exhorting him to remain a tranquil spectator of their contest, the events of which must be favourable to the Romans by the slaughter of their common enemies. The superior genius and fortune of Wallia established his triumph; yet it was not until the valour of his Gothic followers had been approved in three obstinate and bloody campaigns, that his competitors acknowledged his claims to conquest. The province of Boëtica, which had been the scene of devastation to, became the grave of the Silingi. Lusitania was strewed with the slaughtered Alani, whose king perished on the fatal field. The remnant of the Scythian wanderers who escaped from the sword of the Goths, ranged themselves under the standard of the Vandals and the Suevi; yet neither the kindred strength of the Vandals, nor the more desperate courage of the Suevi, could avail them against the martial ardour of Wallia. After a variety of unsuccessful engagements, the promiscuous herd of the barbarians were driven into the mountains of Gallicia. A broken and intractable country opposed the pursuit of the victor; and within a narrow compass, it might be reasonably expected that the mutual jealousy of the rival warriors would precipitate their destruction. The most wealthy cities of Spain recompensed the toils of the warlike Goths; and it is probable that Wallia indulged his followers in an ample privilege of rapine, before he fulfilled his engagements
and

and restored his Spanish conquests to the obedience of Rome; even then the natives regretted the fidelity with which he executed conditions he had subscribed; and they asserted that the violence of their barbarian conquerors was to be preferred to the steady and indefatigable extortion of their Roman governors.

Honorius had in person triumphed for A. D. 428, the advantages that had been obtained by 429: the conduct or courage of Wallia; yet but a short time elapsed between his celebration of the conquest and his final loss of the kingdom of Spain. The Vandals, on the retreat of the Goths, had emerged from their fastnesses in the mountains of Galicia. The Suevi who had presumed to oppose, were the early sacrifice to their valour and renown; they quitted the ungrateful country between Leon and Oviedo, to revel in the plenty of the plains of Boetica; the approach of Castinus with a numerous army of Goths and Romans, excited their ardour, rather than awakened their fears; the degenerated Romans probably fled; and if the Goths asserted their former reputation, their obstinacy only served to swell the slaughter. The presumptuous Castinus found shelter in the walls of Tarragona; and it is most likely that he soon passed over into Italy. Seville and Carthage opened their gates to the victorious Vandals; and the vessels which the northern warriors found collected in the port of the latter, tempted them to undertake a new, and not less profitable enterprise.

The name of the Balears was limited to the two islands of the Mediterranean opposite to the shore of Valencia, which, from their different extent, obtained, and have preserved the expressive appellation of Majorca and Minorca. They had been early occupied by the Phœnicians; had, from the
time

time of Scipio Africanus, been conquered and possessed by the Romans; and during the irruption and bloody contest of the barbarians, had become the asylum to the most opulent Spaniards, who had retreated thither, from the tempest of war, with their families and most valuable effects. The thirst of plunder allured the Vandals to surmount their native aversion, and to commit themselves to the perils of the sea. They probably availed themselves of a favourable wind; and, with a steady breeze, they might in twelve hours accomplish a navigation of scarce fourscore miles. The wretched fugitives, who trusted to the protection of the elements instead of arms, were stripped of the remnant of their former opulence; and the Vandal fleet, laden with spoil, steered back its successful course into the ports of Spain. The barbarians renewed their depredations; but their active rapacity had already exhausted the country; and they listened with pleasure to the invitation of the governor of Africa, whose personal resentment solicited them to the invasion of that province. The vessels to transport them across the straits of Gibraltar were furnished by the Spaniards, who anxiously wished for their departure, and by the African general, who impatiently awaited their arrival; yet before he quitted the coast, Genseric, the king of the Vandals, admonished Spain, by one instance of tremendous vengeance, how dangerous it was to provoke his resentment. Hermanric, the king of the Suevi, had descended from the mountains of Galicia, and presumed to ravage the Spanish territories, which the Vandalic monarch was resolved to abandon. Impatient of the insult, Genseric pursued the hasty retreat of the Suevi as far as Merida, precipitated the king and his army into the river Anas, and calmly returned to the sea shore, to embark his victorious troops.

The

A. D. 456. The retreat of the Vandals was far from achieving the deliverance, or establishing the tranquillity of Spain. The Suevi deplored their monarch and the bravest of their warriors overwhelmed in the waters of the Anas; but they reviewed with pleasure the numbers which still survived in the mountains of Galicia. They gradually issued from their dark recesses, and indulged in the plenty of the plains. About thirty years from the departure of Genferic, their increasing strength, under their king Rechiarus, afflicted the provinces of Carthagenæ and Tarragona, and threatened to extinguish the feeble remains of the Roman dominions in Spain. The emperor of the west was moved by the cries of the oppressed Spaniards; but the effeminate Romans would not have presumed to have met in arms the hardy emigrants from beyond the stream of the Elbe. The chastisement of the latter was intrusted to a kindred hand. The sister of Theodoric the king of the Goths had been married to the king of the Suevi; but the Gothic prince preferred the ties of public, to those of private connexion: as the ally of Avitus he declared, unless his brother-in-law immediately retired from the imperial territories in Spain, he would arm in support of the pretensions of Rome. His menaces were derided by the fierce Rechiarus: "Tell him," replied the haughty king of the Suevi, "that I despise his friendship, and his arms; and that I shall soon try whether he will dare to expect my arrival under the walls of Thoulouse." The martial impatience of Theodoric allowed him not to wait the promised attack of his adversary; and his policy might suggest to him to keep Rechiarus involved in all the disadvantages of a defensive war. But though he undertook the expedition, as the obedient soldier of the emperor of the west, he was not indifferent

ent to the motives of interest or ambition ; and he privately stipulated for himself and his successors the absolute possession of his Spanish conquests. At the head of a promiscuous army of Visigoths, Franks, and Burgundians, Theodoric passed the Pyrenees ; and on the banks of the river Urbicus, about twelve miles from Astorga, he was encountered by Rechiarius ; but the fortune or the numbers of the Suevi were unequal to the conquest ; a people whose dexterity and valour had challenged the admiration of the first Cæsar, and whose arms the immortal gods themselves had been deemed incapable of resisting, scorned readily to yield ; and such were the bloody consequences of their resolution, that their name and kingdom appeared for a while extirpated by the victory of the Goths. Braga, their metropolis, was compelled to open her gates to the victor ; and though the lives of her citizens, and the chastity of her virgins were respected, the moderation which fettered his cruelty and lust was incapable of restraining avarice. The greatest part of the clergy and people were sold into servitude ; and the churches and the altars were confounded in the general pillage. From the former renown, and the subsequent conduct of Rechiarius, it is not to be supposed that he quitted ingloriously the disastrous field ; and his flight to one of the ports of the ocean, might be stimulated by the hopes of returning from the store-house of the north with new swarms of martial adventurers to avenge the fate of his slaughtered subjects ; but the obstinacy of the winds opposed his escape ; he was delivered to his implacable rival. In the moment of triumph Theodoric, either forgot, or was indifferent to the domestic peace of his sister, in the execution of Rechiarius ; and the latter, without murmuring, submitted to the mortal stroke with a firmness worthy of the nation he had ruled over.

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The Suevi had been vanquished in battle, and confined again in obscurity to the mountains of Galicia; and the natives of Spain neither hoped, nor endeavoured to stop the progress of the conqueror. Without meeting with any resistance, he penetrated as far as Lerida, the principal town of Lusitania; but he was diverted from the entire conquest of Spain, by the intelligence of a new revolution in Italy; Avitus was no longer emperor; and the interest and honour of Theodoric were deeply wounded by the deposition of his friend and ally. He pointed his march again towards the Pyrenees; and in his retreat were displayed the marks of his disappointment. The city of Astorga was doomed again to feel his presence; the Goths gleaned with industry what had escaped them in their former pillage; and they reaped a new and plentiful harvest in the spoil of the wealthy city of Palentia.

A. D. 462,
482. The conquest that had eluded the grasp of Theodoric was seized by the hand of his brother Euric. He was stained with fratricide; but in an age of violence, his martial spirit atoned for his want of moral virtues. He wielded the Gothic sceptre with vigour and success; and Spain was first doomed to feel the weight of his arm. He passed the Pyrenees, at the head of a numerous host; and occupied by force or fraud the powerful cities of Pamplona and Saragossa. But the warlike nobles of the province of Tarraconensis refused tamely to yield to the invader; and in a field of battle they presumed to maintain with bloody obstinacy their independence. They were vanquished, rather by the superior numbers, than the valour of their adversaries; and Euric, animated by victory, penetrated into the heart of Lusitania; but he still respected in the mountains of Galicia the hardy warriors of Saxony; Rosimund, who reigned over the Suevi,

Suevi, had married the daughter of Theodoric; the ties of blood might prompt him to avenge the murder of his father-in-law; but the more powerful dictates of policy and interest warned him to decline the contest with the Gothic king. A mutual league of amity was projected and subscribed; and the Suevi were suffered to remain in the possession of Gallicia, whilst the rest of the extensive peninsula of Spain acknowledged the independent authority of Euric.

A country which forms one of the most considerable states of modern Europe, A. D. 472,
475. was incapable of satisfying the ambition of Euric; he disdained to fix the seat of his sovereignty in Spain; he repassed the Pyrenees; and the southern provinces of Gaul were the reward of his address and valour. When Odoacer, surnamed the Mercenary, usurped the kingdom of Italy, he resigned to Euric all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps as far as the Rhine and the ocean. The prodigal donation was confirmed without any loss of power or revenue by the senate; and under their new sovereign, the Gothic king might aspire to the dominion of Spain and Gaul. His court was established in the modern city of Bourdeaux; and the crowd of ambassadors and suppliants who waited before the gates of his palace, attested his influence and renown. The Heruli of the distant ocean, who painted their naked bodies with its coerulean colour, implored his protection; and the Saxons respected the maritime provinces of a prince who was destitute of any naval force; the Burgundians submitted to his authority; and the Franks, who had provoked his enmity, received from him the conditions of peace; the Vandals of Africa sought his friendship; and it supported the Ostrogoths of Pannonia against the oppression of the neighbouring Huns. His nod excited or appeased the sa-
vage

vage tribes of the north ; the great king of Persia had recourse to the wisdom of his counsels, or the weight of his mediation ; Rome, so late the mistress of the world, was anxious to conciliate his favour ; and the effeminate Italians who dwelt on the shores of the Tyber, were defended by the king of the Goths who reigned on the banks of the Garonne.

In the full possession of power and prosperity, Euric expired ; and the throne of the Visigoths was inadequately filled by the feeble youth of his son Alaric. The Franks, beneath their monarch Clovis, from the neighbourhood of the Meuse and the Scheld, the Moselle and the Rhine, had extended their conquests to the southern banks of the Seine. Syagrius, a noble Roman, who ruled with the authority at least, if not with the title of king, over the city and diocese of Soissons, with Rheims and Troyes, Beauvais and Amiens, had been vanquished by them in battle, his dominions seized, and himself compelled to seek refuge in the court of Alaric. The timid counsellors of that prince yielded to the menaces of Clovis, and their own fears ; and Syagrius was basely delivered up to the implacable victor.

The unworthy concession, instead of conciliating the friendship, served only to inflame the ambition of the king of the Franks. The Visigoths had embraced the doctrines of Arius, who, in the mysterious and abstruse question of the Trinity, revered the Son, but denied him to be equal to the Father. The Franks had been influenced by the example of their sovereign, had been purified in the baptismal font from the errors of paganism, and endeavoured to atone for their tardy conversion by their zeal for orthodoxy. The guilt of Arianism in Alaric was heightened by his possession of the

the most fertile provinces of Gaul; no ties nor treaties, however sacred, could bind a prince whose ambition was sanctioned by the name of religion; and in the moment of peace and alliance, Clovis rushed forwards to surprise and oppress the king of the Visigoths.

Though Alaris was destitute of military experience, in personal courage he was not inferior to his aspiring rival. The Visigoths, long disused to war, resumed their arms, and ranged themselves round the standard of their youthful king; but their valour was in vain opposed to the discipline and veteran intrepidity of the Franks. The decisive battle was fought on the banks of the Clain, about ten miles to the south of Portiers; the Goths were totally routed, and pursued with cruel slaughter. Alaric, disdaining to fly, rushed against his royal antagonist, and obtained an honourable death from the hand of Clovis. Aquitain submitted to the victor; his winter quarters were established at Bourdeaux; in the ensuing spring Thoulouse surrendered; and the siege of Arles was formed and closely pressed by the Franks. The kingdom of the Visigoths in Gaul was shaken to its foundations; and its total overthrow was solely averted by the policy or generous pity of Theodoric, the Ostrogoth; who, with the concurrence of the Roman emperor of the east, had delivered Italy from the usurpation of Odoacer the Mercenary, and erected in it the seat of his own independent sovereignty. The Ostrogoths marched with alacrity to rescue from destruction the kindred warriors encompassed in Arles; with the loss of thirty thousand men, Clovis was compelled to retire from the walls of that city. Theodoric declared himself the protector and guardian of the infant son of Alaric; the weighty mediation was respected by Clovis; yet he still retained the greatest

part of his late acquisitions; and from the Garonne to the Loire, the ample province of Aquitain was indissolubly united to the French monarchy.

Amidst the tempest which had agitated Gaul, Spain had enjoyed a transient suspension from hostility; but her peace was wounded by the unhappy fate of Alaric; and after the siege of Arles, the chiefs of the Visigoths conveyed with faithful care their infant monarch Amalaric across the Pyrenees, and established his court in Spain. But the authority of Amalaric was disputed by the ambition and mature years of his bastard brother Gesalaic. It was in Gaul that Gesalaic first erected the standard of opposition; defeated and expelled by the Burgundians, with a martial band of barbarians, whom his personal qualities, or splendid promises, had attached to his cause, he explored the passes of the Pyrenees, and occupied the city of Barcelona. He was driven thence by the general of Theodoric, who had followed on his steps to defend the throne of Amalaric. Vanquished in battle, he escaped with difficulty to Carthagena; and with a few adherents passed over into Africa. He was enabled, by the liberality of the Vandals, again to penetrate into Spain; and within four miles of Barcelona, a battle was fought which finally extinguished his hopes and life. His death on the field, or in the pursuit, left Amalaric without a rival; but his feeble years were incapable of sustaining the weight of government; and the virtues of Theudes, a noble Ostrogoth, were confessed by the Visigoths themselves, who committed to him the protection of their youthful king, and the administration of Spain.

During the time that the reins of government were held by the hand of Theudes, the prosperity of Spain attested his justice and ability; but no sooner had Amalaric attained

A. C. 512,
530.

tained to manhood, than Theudes retired from the high station he had occupied, probably not without a sigh, but certainly without a struggle. The marriage of Amalaric with Clotilda, the daughter of Clovis, seemed to secure the amity, and soon provoked the hostilities of the Franks and Visigoths. The orthodox Clotilda despised her Arian consort; and her intemperate piety summoned her brother to the invasion of her husband's dominions in Gaul. The Visigoths who had attempted to stem the torrent of the Franks, were overwhelmed by its fury; and defeated in battle, Amalaric himself escaped with difficulty to the city of Narbonne. It is doubtful whether he perished by the cruelty of the victors, or, on his return to Barcelona, the contempt of his subjects prompted his assassination; but his death finally closed the line of the first and great Alaric. The throne of the Visigoths in Spain, which hitherto had been considered as hereditary, must hereafter be regarded as elective; and a people who had already experienced the illustrious qualities of Theudes, were impatient to avail themselves again of his justice and moderation; and, by their unanimous suffrages, proclaimed him their sovereign.

Even the wisdom and firmness of Theudes were unequal to the difficulties and dangers that arose on every side. The sons of Clovis had pursued their victorious career from the banks of the Garonne to the foot of the Pyrenees; those mountains which separate Spain from Gaul, were incapable of protecting the former; the passes were either forced or betrayed; and the Franks penetrated to the walls of Saragossa. The inhabitants of that city ransomed their lives with their wealth; and the invaders, encumbered with spoil, slowly pointed their march back towards the Pyrenees. The prudence of Theudes had resisted

A. D. 530,
542.

the ardour of his subjects ; and he had refused to commit to the chance of battle the independence of Spain ; but he watched and improved the moment of retreat : his squadrons hung upon, and repeatedly assailed the rear of the Franks ; and it was only by the sacrifice of the greatest part of their plunder, that the sons of Clovis were permitted to repass in safety the Pyrenean mountains.

While Theudes was occupied in repelling the invasion of the Franks, a revolution, as sudden as extraordinary, had overthrown the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa, and restored that opulent province to the obedience of the Roman emperor. The king of the Vandals had in vain solicited the assistance of Spain, against an enemy whose pretensions might extend to all that once was comprised under the name of the Roman world ; and the refusal of Theudes, which has been ascribed to supineness, may be accounted for by the hostile enterprize of the Franks. But no sooner was Spain delivered from the Gallic inundation, than the eyes of Theudes were turned on Africa. On the opposite point to Gibraltar, the fortress of Ceuta, in the kingdom of Fez, is still maintained by modern Spain. In the time of Justinian, it had either been acquired by treaty or by force by the Visigoths ; but when the Roman genius prevailed over that of the Vandals, it had been reduced by Belisarius, the renowned general of Justinian, and whose victories have entitled him to the appellation of the *third* Africanus. The recovery of Ceuta was the object of the preparations of Theudes ; a narrow strait of about twelve miles, through which the Atlantic flows into the Mediterranean Sea, divides alone the continent of Africa from the peninsula of Spain ; the expedition was conducted by the king in person ; and Ceuta was invested by the joint forces of the Spaniards and Visigoths.

Visigoths. But though an Arian, the piety of Theudes was displayed in the strict observance of the sabbath as a day of rest and devotion; the besieged, less scrupulous, availed themselves of the holy forbearance of their adversaries; they sallied from their walls, and spread terror and slaughter through the camp, which was engaged in fervent prayer. The loss of the Goths must have been considerable, since it induced Theudes to raise the siege and return into Spain; he did not long survive his disgrace; he was stabbed in his own palace by an assassin, whose motives have eluded the diligence of history; he languished a few days after he received the wound; and maintained in his last moments, the character of Christian resignation and forgiveness, by freely subscribing the pardon of the guilty author of his death.

The Visigoths, on his decease, again asserted their right of free election; and their suffrages filled the vacant throne with Theodigild, who had distinguished his valour in the invasion of the Franks; but the renown of the soldier was stained by the lust of the tyrant; and the wives and daughters of his most illustrious subjects were violated by his brutal passion. He fell a victim to a conspiracy of jealous husbands, after having exercised or abused the regal authority about a year and five months.

The conspirators, in a tumultuous assembly, raised to the throne Agila, who was probably associated in their injuries and resentment; but great part of Spain refused to ratify their choice. The city of Cordova was the first to arm against the partial election; and her inhabitants sallying from their gates, attacked and defeated Agila, who, at the head of a numerous army, had advanced to besiege them. The flame of discontent was fanned by the breath of Atha-

nagilde,

nagilde, a noble Goth, who improved to his own advantage the rising disaffection. But his haste to wrest the sceptre from the hand of his rival, betrayed him into a measure unworthy of his own fame, and injurious to the interest of his country; he solicited the assistance of Justinian; and engaged, in return for his support, to cede to him several cities on the shores of the ocean and the Mediterranean; the Roman troops that were dispatched to his aid, enabled him to triumph in battle over Agila; the latter had sought refuge after his defeat, within the fortifications of Merida; but he soon experienced the fate of unfortunate princes; and the citizens of Merida secured the pardon and favour of Athanagilde, by presenting to him the head of Agila.

In the city of Toledo, Athanagilde fixed the seat of the royal residence; and, by a just and lenient administration, reigned in the hearts of his subjects. The tranquillity of his government was interrupted by the rapacity of those he had invited to his protection. The Romans, from their fortresses, oppressed the country round; and the cries of his people summoned Athanagilde to arms. It is probable that he prepared with reluctance to march against an enemy to whose valour he was indebted for his crown; yet no sooner was the war commenced, than he acted in it with vigour and ability; he wrested several of their fastnesses from the Romans; but the latter were fortified, in many of their impregnable stations, by perpetual supplies from Africa. Opposite to that continent they still maintained their ground, and waited an opportunity to inflame the civil and religious factions of the barbarians. Seventy years elapsed before this painful thorn could be extirpated from the bosom of the monarchy; and as long as the emperors retained any share of these remote

remote possessions, their vanity might number Spain in the list of their provinces.

Two daughters, Brunchant and Goisvintha, who were married to the princes of Austrasia and Soissons, and became famous for their vices or misfortunes, were the only issue of the nuptial bed of Athanagilde : his reign had continued eighteen years, when in his palace of Toledo he breathed his last : and the zealous wishes of the orthodox writers of that age have asserted, that before his death he abjured the errors of Arianism, and embraced the pure doctrines of the catholic church.

Five months of anarchy served to endear to the natives of Spain the advantages of a temperate monarchy ; the eyes of the nobility, in the choice of a successor to Athanagilde, were directed across the Pyrenees. Some remains of the Gothic kingdom in Gaul had yet eluded or withstood the ambitious enterprises of the Franks ; and Luiva, to whose government they were entrusted, must, in the arduous station, have discovered no common abilities, since at a distance, and without intrigue, they recommended him to the throne of Spain. The moderation with which he received the intelligence of his election, was the best proof that he deserved it ; he still remained to watch over the safety of the provinces of Gaul ; and he proposed, and obtained the consent of his subjects, to associate in the royal dignity his brother Leovigild. Fraternal affection might first have prompted his choice ; but Spain confessed that the virtues of Leovigild deserved a crown ; and after Luiva was no more, the whole dominions of the Visigoths were united under the sway of a prince who in peace merited the love of his people, and in war extorted the admiration of his enemies.

The moment of enterprise had been seized and improved by the Romans ; and during the suspense
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and confusion of an interregnum, their arms had advanced from the shores of the sea into the inland country. Their banners were displayed on the walls of Medina Sidonia, in the province of Andalusia, and from the towers of Cordova which overshadow the stream of the Bœtis. But their pride was soon broken by the vigour of Leovigild. After an obstinate resistance, he entered Medina Sidonia as a conqueror; and the slaughter of the rebellious inhabitants struck terror throughout the principal cities of Spain. Yet Cordova, confident in the strength of her walls, and the valour of her citizens, ventured to brave the resentment of her sovereign. It was not until after a long siege, and that the dexterous introduction of gold had cooled the ardour, and distracted the inclinations of her inhabitants, that the gates were opened to Leovigild. But the surrender of Cordova determined the submission of the other cities; the imperial garrisons were expelled; and the Romans were again confined to their fortresses on the coasts of the sea.

It was the natural desire of Leovigild to perpetuate the crown in his own family. To fortify his title, he had espoused Golsvintha, the widow of Athanagilde; but his hopes were reposed on Hermenigild and Recared, his two sons by a former marriage. He intimated the necessity of providing against the same anarchy as Spain had experienced after the death of Athanagilde; his wishes were understood and gratified; and Hermenigild and Recared were called to the certain succession by the title of princes of the Goths.

In the hilly country of Biscay, and in the mountains of Orospeña, which, with the modern name of Sierra Morena, envelope the sources of the Bœtis, an hardy race of freebooters, the descendants of the Cantabrians, still preserved the manners and tone of independence. They were reclaimed to civil

vil life and obedience by the persevering courage of Leovigild; and the Suevi, who had presumed to pass their limits in their support, were compelled to appease the resentment of the victor by their immediate submission.

But the satisfaction which Leovigild derived from the success of his military labours was embittered by female passion and religious rancour. His eldest son, Hermenigild, who, with the royal diadem, had been invested by his father with the principality of Bætica, had contracted an honourable and orthodox alliance with a Merovingian princess, the daughter of Sigebert, king of Austrasia, and of the famous Brunchant. The beautiful Ingundis, who was no more than sixteen years of age, was received with respect, but was soon exposed to the persecution of the Arian court of Toledo. Her grandmother, Goisvintha, who, by her second marriage with Leovigild, was doubly bound to her protection, became her most implacable enemy. The Gothic queen is represented as deformed in her person, blind of one eye, fierce, vindictive, and inexorable; and to her aversion to the religious principles of Ingundis, might be added her envy of a young and charming princess, whose features and person were the objects of universal admiration. Ingundis refused to sacrifice the faith she had been educated in to the menaces of Goisvintha; who, incensed by her resistance, seized her by the hair, inhumanly dashed her against the ground, kicked her till she was covered with blood, and at last gave orders that she should be stripped, and thrown into a basin or fish-pond. Love and honour might excite Hermenigild to resent this injurious treatment of his bride; and he was gradually persuaded that Ingundis suffered for the cause of divine truth. Her tender complaints, and the weighty arguments of Leander, arch-bishop of Seville, accomplished his conversion; and the
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heir of the Gothic monarchy was initiated in the Nicene faith by the solemn rites of confirmation.

The bigoted spirit of Goisvintha allowed not Hermenigild to hope that he might cultivate the new doctrines he had espoused in humble security; and it is probable that the zeal of the Catholics of Spain urged him to violate the duties of a son and a subject. He drew the sword against his sovereign and his father; and his rebellion was supported by the powerful and orthodox nation of the Vascones, who inhabited the modern kingdom of Navarre. Yet Hermenigild was persuaded soon after to submit, by the remonstrances of his brother Recared; he was sent a prisoner to Toledo; and Leovigild entered in arms the country of the Vascones. His success is attested by the city of Victoria, which he founded; and his severity may be conjectured from the numbers of the inhabitants who quitted their native seats; the country was indeed recovered by Leovigild; but the people still refused to submit to his government; they passed the Pyrenees; possessed themselves of, and multiplied in, part of Aquitain; and, with some little corruption, still preserve their origin in the appellation of Gascons.

While the martial Vascones occupied the attention of Leovigild, his son Hermenigild had eluded the vigilance of his guards, and escaped from Toledo. He had perhaps flattered himself, when he surrendered to his father, that he should have been soon restored to his confidence and affection; but he found himself a prisoner in the midst of a city which he might regard as his future capital; and exposed to the insults, and deadly machinations of his mother-in-law, Goisvintha. He had no sooner regained his freedom, than he prepared to defend it by the sword. Notwithstanding the emigration of the Vascones, the Catholics of Spain were yet numerous; the cities of Merida,

side, Cordova, and Seville, strenuously espoused the party of Hermenigild; and he invited to his assistance the orthodox barbarians, the Suevi, and the Franks; but the formidable confederacy was broken by the active vigour of Leovigild; the passes of the Pyrenees were strictly guarded against the Franks; the march of the Suevi was intercepted by the Gothic king in person; and they were constrained to retire within their own limits. The sieges of Merida, Seville, and Cordova, were successively formed, and pressed with ardour. Their obstinacy long protracted the civil war; and it was not until they had experienced the extreme misery of famine, that they consented to open their gates. The walls of Cordova had been the last resource of Hermenigild; and when that city surrendered, he became the captive of an exasperated father. Leovigild was still mindful of that sacred character; the life of his son was spared; and he was conveyed in chains to Tarragona. From the place of his imprisonment he contrived to keep up a dangerous correspondence with the court of Constantinople; his ambassador was the arch-bishop Leander, who had been the instrument of his conversion; he solicited the Romans, who possessed Africa, and a part of the Spanish coast, to the conquest of his native land; his negotiation reached the ears of Leovigild; and the restless prince was removed from Tarragona, to a strong tower in the city of Seville; an Arian bishop was sent to him, to persuade him to embrace once more his former faith; but the constancy of Hermenigild was inflexible; and he refused to accept the Arian communion as the price of safety and freedom. In his declining years, Leovigild might be jealous of the future spiritual welfare of his people; his holy fears might be improved by the address of Goisvintha; he commanded the execution of his Catholic son; if his
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rigour was fatal to the life; it was favourable to the fame of Hermenigild; and the stubborn rebel, and undutiful son, was, by the admiration of the orthodox clergy of his age, translated into a martyr and a saint.

The tardy repentance of the parent was drowned by the sound of the trumpet. The Suevi had often provoked and appeased his resentment; but the hour of clemency was passed; and the monarch who had sternly resisted the emotions of nature, was not likely to yield to the suggestions of pity. Policy and ambition fortified Leovigild against the submissive professions of the Suevi; and the latter, distracted by domestic faction, were incapable of withstanding the torrent of the Goths. Their hereditary prince, Eboric, had been deposed by the enterprising genius of Andaca; and the usurper Andaca was in his turn overthrown by the stronger arm of Leovigild. His head was shaved; and that restless spirit which could not be satisfied in the condition of a subject, was for ever confined within the walls of a monastery. But the power of the Suevi in Spain was finally broken and extinguished; Braga, their capital, averted the horrors of an assault by a timely capitulation; and, with the exception of a few fortresses on the coast, which were held by the Romans, the whole Spanish peninsula was united under the dominion of Leovigild.

The conquest of the Suevi of Spain, was the last of the military labours of Leovigild. But it was not only in war, that his administration was entitled to praise; and in the hour of peace, his subjects confessed and dreaded his severe and equal justice. He revised the laws that had been neglected from the death of Alaric; repealed such as had become useless; and promulgated new ones, adapted to the temper and genius of his people. He introduced discipline into his armies, and regularity into his finances;

finances ; and watched with jealous care over the regal dignity. He endeavoured to subdue the bold and free imagination of his subjects by a studied ostentation ; and Leovigild was the first of the Visigoth kings who was distinguished by the splendour and magnificence of his robes ; but whatever state he might assume in public, in private he maintained his wonted simplicity ; and his frugality and temperance were the sources of his wealth, and his vigour in old age. A short time before his death he is reported to have reconciled himself to the catholic church ; and Leander, arch-bishop of Seville, who had been so instrumental in the conversion of the son, is said to have influenced that of the father. The rumour was readily embraced by the policy of Recared ; but the improbable tale has been rejected by the most judicious historians ; the rebel ambassador to the court of Constantinople would scarcely have been chosen by the sovereign of the Goths as his spiritual director ; nor is there sufficient reason to doubt but that Leovigild, in the eighteenth year of a prosperous reign, expired of disease, in his capital of Toledo, in the firm and steady persuasion of the truth of Arianism.

CHAPTER III.

Reign of Recared.—The Catholic church is established.—His victory over the Franks.—Councils of Toledo.—His death.—Reigns of Liurva, Witeric, and Gondemar.—Accession of Sisebut.—He persecutes the Jews.—He is succeeded by his son Recared the second.—Death of Recared, and succession of his brother Suintilla.—He expels the Imperialists.—He is dethroned by Sisenand.—Election of Chintila to the throne.—Persecution against the Jews renewed.—Reigns of Tulga, Chindesuinto, and Reccesuinto.—Wamba is chosen king.—His exploits.—He regulates the national councils.—Triumph over the Saracens by sea.—Singular manner of his deposition.—Usurpation of Erviga.—He resigns the sceptre to his son-in-law Egiza.—New code of laws promulgated by the Visigoths.

A. D. 585,
610. **T**HE prudence of Leovigild had smoothed the ascent to greatness for Recared; the Gothic nation respected their former obligation, and ratified it by acknowledging their new monarch; but the edifice of Arianism which the deceased king had cemented by the blood of Hermenigild, was overthrown by his favourite son and successor, and on its ruins the Catholic church was firmly established throughout Spain.

More cautious or more scrupulous than his brother, Recared had in silence concealed the orthodox faith he had imbibed; and instead of revolting against his father, he patiently expected the hour of his death; instead of condemning his memory, he piously

piously supposed that the dying monarch had abjured the errors of Arianism, and recommended to his son the conversion of the Gothic nation. An invasion of the Franks delayed the execution of the design; but no sooner had he repelled the foreign enemies of the state, than he turned his thoughts to the care and regulation of its religion. To accomplish that salutary end, Recared convened an assembly of the Arian clergy and nobles, declared himself a Catholic, and exhorted them to imitate the example of their prince. The laborious interpretations of doubtful texts, or the curious pursuit of metaphysical arguments, would have excited an endless controversy; and that monarch discreetly proposed to his illiterate audience two substantial and visible proofs, the testimony of earth, and of heaven. The earth had submitted to the Nicene synod; the Romans, the Barbarians, and the inhabitants of Spain, unanimously professed the same orthodox creed; and the Visigoths resisted, almost alone, the consent of the Christian world. A superstitious age was prepared to reverence, as the testimony of Heaven, the preternatural cures, which were performed by the skill or virtue of the Catholic clergy; the baptismal fonts of Ossat, situated on the northern banks of the Boetis, opposite to Seville, which were spontaneously replenished each year on the vigil of Christ; and the miraculous shrine of St. Martin of Tours, which had already converted the Suevic prince, and the people of Gallacia. These proofs of Recared were probably supported by an obedient and Catholic army; the Arian clergy appeared convinced; and the general establishment of the Catholic religion in Spain was applauded and decreed.

Yet the prejudices of mankind are not easily eradicated; and those of religion have been found by experience more deeply rooted than any other. The

Arians

Arians in secret lamented the fall of their faith; their indignation was probably increased by the insulting triumph of the victorious Catholics; and an open insurrection, and secret conspiracy were the immediate consequences of their discontent; the first was broken by the vigour of Recared and his generals; the last was disconcerted by the timidity or treachery of the conspirators. Yet the Arians soon after resumed their projects of revenge and dominion; and they were supported by the riches, and animated by the exhortations of Goisvintha, the widow of Athanagilde, and Leovigild.

The persecution of Hermenigild might have recoiled on the head of Goisvintha, had not Recared been influenced more by generosity than resentment; but the Gothic king respected the widow of his two immediate predecessors; he buried every hostile or jealous emotion in the assiduous duty of a son-in-law; and his behaviour towards Goisvintha was not only the admiration of his own subjects, but was the theme of praise among the neighbouring nations. Could the heart of the Arian princess have been susceptible of gratitude, it must have been penetrated by the kindness of Recared; but she had been accustomed only to indulge the sterner passions of hatred and revenge; and every gift seemed polluted by the hand of the Catholic donor. She had consented to embrace in appearance the orthodox faith; and she was readily persuaded by Ubila, an Arian bishop, and the associate of her treasonable designs, that her guilty compliance could only be effaced by the destruction of him who had extorted it. The confederates seized the moment when the irruption of the Franks into the provinces of the Visigoths on the other side the Pyrenees, embarrassed the counsels of the court of Toledo. But the intention of Goisvintha and Ubila were revealed by the remorse or perfidy of one
one

one of her associates; rage or despair at the detection of her crime, extinguished the feeble remains of the life of the Gothic queen; yet the subsequent conduct of Recared proves that she still might have hoped for pardon. He remembered with respect the holy character of Ubila; and the Arian bishop in the mild sentence of exile, must have lamented his own guilt, and applauded the clemency of his sovereign.

From the detection of domestic treason, the attention of the Gothic king was recalled to check the progress of foreign invasion. Sixty thousand Franks deluged the dominions of the Visigoths in Gaul, and had displayed their hostile standards in the neighbourhood of Carcassone, at a small distance from Narbonne. As they indulged in security and intemperance, they were suddenly attacked and routed by a martial band of Visigoths; and six thousand Franks were slaughtered by three hundred Visigoths. Such indeed are the partial and exaggerated accounts of several of the Spanish historians; it is possible the vanguard of the army of Recared might amount to no more, and the honour of the victory might be ascribed to those who led the attack; but we learn from the testimony of a more accurate writer, that the Franks were deluded by a feigned flight to pursue with inconsiderate ardour; and that in the moment of tumultuous triumph they were suddenly assailed by the fresh troops of their adversaries, and were incapable of rallying, or retrieving the effects of their imprudence.

Instead of being elated with his victory and aspiring to new conquests in Gaul, the king of the Visigoths, in the hour of his success consented to negotiate an honourable and equal treaty with the Franks. The internal regulation of his kingdom ill claimed his unremitting attention; and the firm

establishment of the Catholic church was the constant object of his peaceful labours. While the laurels of Carcassone were still fresh in the eyes of his subjects, he summoned a general council at Toledo; the five metropolitans of Toledo, Seville, Merida, Braga, and Tarragotta, presided in it according to their respective seniority. The assembly was composed of their suffragan bishops, who appeared in person, or by their proxies, and a place was assigned to the most holy, or most opulent of the Spanish abbots. The stability of the Catholic church was secured by new canons or decrees, and the moderation and wisdom of the assembly gradually recommended it to the supreme influence in the administration of Spain. From the reign of Recared to the irruption of the Moors, sixteen national councils were successively convened; and the regular discipline of the church introduced peace and order into the government of the state. During the three first days of the convocation, as long as they agitated the ecclesiastical questions of doctrine and subjection, the profane laity were excluded from their debates, which were conducted however with decent solemnity. But on the morning of the fourth day, the doors were thrown open for the entrance of the great officers of the palace, the dukes and counts of the provinces, the judges of the cities, and the gothic nobles; and the decrees of heaven were ratified by the consent of the people. The same rules were observed in the provincial assemblies, the annual synods which were empowered to hear complaints, and to redress grievances; and a legal government was supported by the prevailing influence of the Spanish clergy. The bishops might labour to exalt the mitre above the crown; yet the national councils of Toledo, in which the free spirit of the Barbarians was tempered and guided by episcopal policy, established some prudent

positive laws for the common benefit of the king and the people.

The vacancy of the throne was supplied by the choice of the bishop and the palatines; and, after the failure of the line of Alaric, the regal dignity was still limited to the pure and noble blood of the Goths. The clergy, who anointed their lawful prince, always recommended, and sometimes practised, the duty of allegiance; and the spiritual censures were denounced on the heads of the impious subjects who should presume to resist his authority, conspire against his life, or violate, by an indelicate union, the chastity of his widow. But the monarch himself, when he ascended the throne, was bound by a reciprocal oath to God and his people, that he would faithfully execute his important trust. The real or imaginary faults of his administration were subject to the controul of a powerful aristocracy; and the bishops and palatines were guarded by a fundamental privilege that they should not be degraded, imprisoned, tortured, nor punished with death, exile, or confiscation, unless by the free and public judgment of their peers.

After the conversion of Recared had removed the prejudices of the Catholics, the coasts, both of the ocean and Mediterranean, were still possessed by the eastern emperor, who secretly excited the people to reject the yoke of the Barbarians, and to assert the name and dignity of Roman citizens. Their intrigues provoked the resentment of Recared; and they were taught by the arm of a warrior to respect in future the sanctity of their treaties. But the moderation of the Gothic king was satisfied with protecting his dominions from insult, without aspiring to extend them by conquest. He stopped in the middle of his career of victory; he solicited Gregory the Great, who had been raised,

both by his liberality, and his rude but pathetic eloquence, with the holy title of pope, to the independent administration of the desolated city of Rome, to negotiate a new treaty between the Greeks of Constantinople and the Goths of Spain. The same conditions which had existed between Justinian and Athanagilde were the basis of the alliance between Maurice and Recared; and if the cautious Spaniards might applaud the prudence of their sovereign who delivered his country from the calamities of war, the more daring spirit of the Visigoths accused the patience of their prince whose forbearance suffered them still to be insulted by the sight of the rival banners of imperial power.

Yet however Recared might be desirous of peace; when it was no longer to be maintained on just and honourable terms, he invariably asserted the qualities of fortitude and vigour in war. The Gascons might remember with secret indignation the persecution they had sustained under the administration of Leovigild. But the accession of a Catholic king must have extinguished their religious enmity; and it was the desire of reclaiming their fertile fields on the southern banks of the Ebro, which impelled them across the Pyrenees to the invasion of Spain. They were encountered and defeated by Recared; but the mercy of the victor was again displayed; and the Gascons who had escaped the sword on the field of battle, were permitted to repass in safety the Pyrenean mountains.

The reign of Recared, though characterized by justice, by wisdom, and firmness, was gloomy and tempestuous. The Arian clergy neither desired to forget nor to forgive the humiliation of their sect; and the name of Argimond, who was chamberlain to the king, stamps the third conspiracy against Recared. The clemency of the monarch was unequal to these repeated instances of revolt and ingratitude;

gratitude; he might feel as a man, but he punished as a sovereign; the head of the traitor Argimond was shaved, a mark of the deepest infamy among the Visigoths and Barbarians; he was publicly whipped, his right hand cut off, and on a mule he was exposed to the derision of the city of Toledo; his sufferings were terminated by his execution; and the associates of his designs were condemned to expiate their guilt by death.

This last act of necessary severity closed the administration and life of Recared; A. D. 610,
612. three sons by different and doubtful mothers were the issue of his marriage or his amours. The pretensions of primogeniture were acknowledged by the rest in the election of Luiva; but his subjects had scarce time to contemplate with pleasure the opening virtues of their new monarch, before he was despoiled of his crown, his liberty, and his life. The particulars of the conspiracy are involved in obscurity; but the author of it was Witeric, a Gothic nobleman, whose treasonable ambition had been pardoned by the father, and was now fatal to the son. The murderer usurped the throne; but he was permitted only to enjoy a short time the harvest of his guilt. The indignation of his Catholic subjects was inflamed by the suspicion that he had privately embraced, and intended to restore the heresy of Arianism; he was suddenly attacked and assassinated in his palace; and his mangled body, after having been exposed to the insults of the populace, was thrown amongst those of the common malefactors.

Of the Gothic chiefs whom resentment for the fate of Luiva, or concern for the Catholic church had excited to the punishment of Witeric, the name of Gondemar was most distinguished. His pious zeal was confessed in a national assembly by the orthodox clergy; and the crown was the tribute
of

of their gratitude. His virtues sanctioned their choice. The imperialists who had attempted to avail themselves of the late revolution, and to extend their narrow territories, were broken by his valour, and driven within their former boundaries; but whilst his age and abilities promised a long and prosperous reign to his people, he was seized and carried off by an epidemic distemper, the second year after his elevation to royalty.

The suffrages of the Goths were united
 A. D. 612, by the merits of Sisebut, and the sceptre
 621. was again placed in the hand of an hero.

He resumed or surpassed the designs of his predecessor; and aspired to the glory of expelling the Greeks of Constantinople from Spain. After quelling some domestic commotions in Asturia, he marched in person to the contest; in two decisive engagements the forces of the imperialists were routed and almost destroyed; amidst the carnage of the field the generous and compassionate mind of Sisebut lamented the consequences of his own victory. The impassioned exclamation, "Unhappy man that I am to see so much blood spilt through my means!" will be the subject of more just admiration than his martial achievements, however splendid; even these may be considered as restoring the independence of his country. The throne of Constantinople was shaken by the formidable hosts of the Persians and the Avars; and Herachus, oppressed by the great king and the chagan, was incapable of affording any succour to his subjects in Spain. He readily subscribed a peace that was dictated by Sisebut; the imperial forts and territories on the coasts of the Mediterranean were re-united under the authority of the Visigoths; and on the side of the Atlantic ocean the pretensions of the eastern empire were compressed within the modern province of Algarvè.

The

The triumph of Sisebut over the enemies of his country had been chastened by pity, but his heart was fortified against the cries and lamentations of the Jews; by superstition. If we may credit the assertions of that miserable people, they had been first introduced into Spain by the fleets of Solomon, and the arms of Nebuchadnezzar. They had been multiplied in that country by the policy of Hadrian, who is reported to have transported thither forty thousand families of the tribe of Judah, and ten thousand of the tribe of Benjamin. The wealth which they accumulated by trade, and the management of the finances, invited the avarice of their masters; and they might be oppressed without danger, as they had lost the use, and even the remembrance of arms; yet the general character of Sisebut allows us to suppose that he was rather influenced in his persecution by religious, than avaricious motives. Ninety thousand Jews to preserve their wealth or lives, consented to receive the sacrament of baptism; the fortunes of the most obdurate infidels were confiscated, their bodies tortured; and it seems doubtful whether they were permitted to abandon their native country. The excessive zeal of the Catholic king was moderated, even by the clergy of Spain, who solemnly pronounced an inconsistent sentence; *that the sacraments should not be forcibly imposed; but that the Jews who had been baptized, should be constrained for the honour of the church to persevere in the external practice of a religion which they disbelieved and detested.*

The persecution of the Jews is the only error which tarnishes the glory of the reign of Sisebut. Though he might detest the calamities of war, the glory or interests of his nation prompted him to carry his arms beyond the natural confines of his kingdom. He passed the straits of Gibraltar and reduced

reduced the fortrefs of Ceuta, and the city of Tangier. He had scarce returned to Spain before he was seized by a mortal disease. And the Visigoth writers of a superstitious age, who have passed with indifference or dwelt with satisfaction on the massacre of so many thousand Jews, have ascribed his death to the judgment of heaven, for his having presumed to depose the profligate but orthodox bishop of Barcelona.

The renown of Sisebut secured the tranquil succession of his son Recared the Second; but the young prince, who is supposed to have resembled his father, had scarcely received the crown before he expired, and the national council was summoned to a new election. In an assembly which consisted of Catholic clergy, the memory of Recared the First was still revered; and their pious gratitude was displayed in raising to the vacant throne Suintilla, the second son of that monarch. The valour of Suintilla as a subject, had been approved against the rebellious Asturians; and in the condition of a king, it was not suffered to languish in the luxury of the palace. A few months had hardly been devoted to the works of peace, and the revival of the laws, before the formidable irruption of the Gascons summoned the new monarch to arms. The province of Biscay and the kingdom of Navarre were blasted by their presence; and their hostile progress to the stream of the Ebro was marked by devastation. On the banks of that river they were astonished and awed by the presence of the Gothic king, who at the head of a numerous and disciplined army had pressed forwards to the relief of his people. Dismayed by his activity and vigour the Gascons endeavoured to retreat; in a tumultuous march they reached the foot of the Pyrenees; but the passes of those mountains were already occupied by the forces of Spain

Spain which had assembled in their rear. Their camp was assailed by famine, and clouded by despair; their deputies prostrated themselves at the feet of Suintilla, confessed their temerity, and implored his clemency. The compassion of the king might induce him to spare the effusion of blood; and his prudence must have suggested the uncertainty of battle, and the vicissitudes of war. A safe retreat was allowed to the Gascons; but it was purchased by the restoration of the spoil they had acquired; their march across the Pyrenees was gently pressed by the squadrons of Spain; and a strong fortress was erected by the caution of Suintilla to prevent their return. The ground on which it arose is variously supposed to be covered by the modern town of Fontarabia, and the city of Valladolid; but the situation of the former on the coast of the sea, and the edge of the Pyrenees, marks the spot which nature neglected, and which art has constructed as the barrier of Spain against the ambition of France.

Within the narrow limits of the province or kingdom of Algarve, the imperialists had lamented their decreasing influence and waning strength; yet even the sense of the danger which impended over them could not suspend their domestic dissensions. Their little territory was divided between two governors, whose jealous and rival sway distracted their own councils, and invited the arms of their enemies. If the hostile ensigns of Suintilla enforced their tardy union, their rashness precipitated their destruction. They ventured to quit their fortifications, and to encounter the superior numbers of the Goths in an open field of battle: a bloody defeat was the consequence of their presumption; and Suintilla improved the advantage with ardour and dexterity. Most of the imperial fortresses were surprised or submitted. A new governor

verner who was dispatched by Heraclius to retrieve the errors of his predecessors, found scarce any thing left to defend. Yet the Grecian band that he commanded might have remembered in the hour of battle that they once had been distinguished by the name of Romans. The effects of military pride or despair were eluded by the address of Suintilla. He proclaimed his unwillingness to destroy so many gallant men, whose valour still might be useful to their country. He offered them a safe retreat, and vessels to transport them to Constantinople; in the interval of negotiation the ardour of the soldiers evaporated; the love of life again revived in their bosoms; their general probably participated in their emotions, or yielded to their wishes; he subscribed the treaty, embarked his followers, and the peninsula of Spain was united under the sole authority of Suintilla.

A grateful nation listened with alacrity to the request of their victorious monarch. The son of Suintilla was by the suffrages of the Gothic nobles associated in the royal dignity of his father. But the very measure which promised to establish more firmly the throne of Suintilla, and to transmit it to his posterity, was the cause of its rapid subversion. Success had either changed or revealed his natural disposition; and the counsels of his consort and his brother Gailan united to inflame his pride, and stimulate his rapacity. Haughty, voluptuous, and avaricious, from the protector he became the scourge of his people; the renown of his former achievements was still remembered with terror; and he might long have trampled on the patience of a prostrate nation, had not compassion or ambition excited Sisenand, who was intrusted with the government of the Gothic territories in Gaul, to erect the standard of revolt. Those territories could furnish but a slender band of warriors for the relief or
invasion

invasion of Spain; and the liberal promises of Sisenand prevailed on Dagobert, the king of France, to contribute his aid to the overthrow of the tyrant. At the head of a promiscuous army of Goths and Franks, Sisenand crossed the Pyrenees; and Suintilla with the approach of danger refusing his wonted vigour, advanced to engage him in the neighbourhood of Saragossa. But he was deserted by his troops, his courtiers, and his brother Gailan; he heard the name of Sisenand proclaimed in his camp; and abandoning all hopes of resistance, by an hasty flight he endeavoured to preserve his life.

With liberal gifts and a promise to fulfil the conditions he had subscribed, Sisenand dismissed the Franks who repassed the Pyrenees; and strong in the affections of his countrymen, pursued his peaceful progress to the royal city of Toledo. He was there solemnly acknowledged, and anointed as king; but the life of Suintilla was guarded by the memory of his former services; and the arm of resentment was checked by gratitude. A. D. 631.
635.

The succour of Dagobert had been purchased by the promise of a fountain of massy gold, the gift of the patrician Ætius to Torrismond the king of the Visigoths, when the valour of the latter wrested the victory from the Scythian host and their celebrated monarch Attila, in the bloody plains of Chalons. It had acquired a double value with the Goths, as the sacred testimony of their glory; but Sisenand had hardly seated himself in the throne before the golden fountain was demanded by the ambassadors of Dagobert; the menaces of the king of France prevailed over the murmurs of his own subjects, and the costly memorial of Gothic fame was delivered to the French envoys. The indignation of the Goths was not confined to vain complaints;

plaints; the ambassadors were way-laid, attacked in their return, and compelled to surrender the precious object of their mission. A long negotiation ensued; and the resentment of Dagobert was at length appeased, and the wishes of the Goths gratified, by the payment of a sum of money equal in value to the monument of the courage of their ancestors.

It was not until three years after Sisenand had exercised the regal authority, that in a national council at Toledo, the deposition of Suintilla was formally confirmed, and his posterity with that of the perfidious Gailan deemed incapable of ever ascending the Gothic throne. Two years afterwards the death of Sisenand himself summoned the Gothic clergy and nobles to exert their judgment in the choice of a new sovereign.

A. D. 638,
639. The name of Chintila is first revealed by his promotion to the throne; and his reign of six years is only marked by his edict for the total expulsion of the Jews from Spain. It is not easy to discern at this distance what event provoked the fury of the king and the people against that unhappy race. But it is probable that the usurious advantage which they might derive from their wealth, exposed them to general hatred. The royal decree of Chintila which commanded all his subjects to profess the Christian faith, was the signal of persecution and exile to the Jews. Yet the Goths were unwilling to deprive themselves of the industrious slaves, over whom they might exercise a lucrative oppression. The Jews still continued in Spain under the weight of the civil and ecclesiastical laws, which in the same country have been faithfully transcribed in the code of the Inquisition. The Gothic kings and bishops at length discovered that injuries will produce hatred, and that hatred will find the opportunity of revenge. A nation the secret or professed

ferred enemies of Christianity still multiplied in servitude and distress; and the intrigues of the Jews promoted the rapid success of the Arabian conquerors.

Yet however one sect might complain of the severity of Chintila, we may suppose from the vows of his subjects for his life and prosperity, that the general tenor of his administration was mild and beneficial. Even when he was dead, and flattery was no more, they acknowledged his virtues in filling the vacant throne with his son Tulga. The feeble youth appears to have been incapable of sustaining the weight of royalty; his character presents a blameless void, unmarked by vice or virtue; the bold and restless Goths required the sway of a more firm and nervous arm; by a confederacy of the principal nobles, the sceptre was transferred from the hand of Tulga to that of Chindisuintho; the life of the former was respected; but the ceremony of shaving his head precluded him according to the custom of the Barbarians, from re-ascending the throne; and an obscure and tranquil existence was permitted him within the walls of a monastery.

A. D. 639.
672.

Age had not chilled the ambition or vigour of Chindisuintho; and the new monarch vindicated in arms his pretensions to the crown. The chiefs who presumed to oppose his election were crushed in the field, or executed on the scaffold; his authority was recognized in a general council at Toledo; his son Recisuintho was received as the partner of, and the successor to, his power; and after a reign of eleven years, distinguished equally by the praise of the warlike, the learned, and the pious, the death of Chindisuintho dropped the reins of government into the hands of his son.

During the life of his father the abilities of Recisuintho had been displayed in quelling a domestic insur-

insurrection, and in chastising the Gascons who had again passed the Pyrenees; and on his accession to the undivided administration of Spain, those who had been intimidated by the valour of the prince, were conciliated by the address and clemency of the king. Twenty-four years his subjects felt and applauded his wisdom, his justice, and his moderation; and his decease at the expiration of that term summoned them to the melancholy and arduous task of providing a successor, who might not suffer from the remembrance of Recisuntho's virtues.

The superior talents and qualities of A. D. 672, Wamba united in his favour the suffrages 680. of his Gothic peers; but the power which was the ambitious hope of many was slighted by the only person who appeared worthy of it. Wamba long refused to accede to the wishes of the assembly; and his subsequent conduct attests the sincerity of his reluctance. He yielded to the patriotic reproach, that he preferred his own peace to the interest of his country; but when he consented to wear the crown, he desired the council to recollect, that he complied with their, and not his own, inclinations. He had scarce received it before he was sensible of the cares to which it exposed him. The turbulent inhabitants of Navarre and Asturia refused their contributions, and armed against the state; and across the Pyrenees, Hilderic, Count of Nîmes, assumed the ensigns of royalty, and aspired with the title of king, to the independent government of the Gothic provinces of Gaul. While Wamba prepared to march against the rebels of Navarre and Asturia, he directed Paul, a veteran and skilful general, to pass the Pyrenean mountains, and reduce the revolted Hilderic. The abilities of Paul were worthy of, but his fidelity was unequal to, the important trust. In a secret council of the chiefs of Catalonia, his ambition was inflamed by the assurances

urances of their support. The timid Hilderic shrunk at his approach, and consented to rank himself among his dependents; the city of Narbonne received him as her sovereign; and his usurpation was protected by the formidable alliance and succours of the Franks.

It was on the frontiers of Navarre that Wamba was informed of the perfidy of Paul, and the revolt of Catalonia. His officers advised him to return to Toledo, and assemble the strength of the Gothic nation. But he rejected their dilatory counsels; and his reluctance in ascending the throne was not more fatal than his resolution in the possession of it. Depending less on the number of his forces than the celerity of his motions, he penetrated into and laid waste the rebellious countries of Asturia and Navarre. His rapid and destructive progress struck the inhabitants with terror; they implored his clemency; and their pardon was sealed by a solemn oath to arm their martial youth in his defence. Strong in this reinforcement, Wamba hastily traversed Arragon, entered Catalonia, presented himself before, and was received into Barcelona, and halted before the walls of Gironne. Paul might either have confided in his own activity, or have been unwilling to expose that city to the calamities of a siege, when he instructed the bishop to acknowledge of the competitors the first who appeared before the gates. Three days repose recruited the strength of the followers of Wamba; and in four divisions his army attempted and forced the passes of the Pyrenees, and united under the walls of Narbonne. The garrison of Narbonne were animated by the presence of Wiumir, the friend and favourite general of Paul; and in the cause of rebellion they displayed a valour the most obstinate; the gates were at length burst open, and the walls thrown down by the impetuous assailants; a church was
the

the last retreat of Witimir; but he entered it as a warrior and not as a suppliant; yet he was incapable of obtaining the honourable death he sought; he was stunned by the fragment of a beam; was taken alive, and publicly scourged through the streets; but the ignominious punishment was the immediate effects of the resentment of the lieutenants of Wamba, who, however he might himself secretly approve, was far from publicly authorizing their conduct.

Within the walls of Nîmes, Paul anticipated the consequences of unsuccessful rebellion. But instead of consuming the hours in vain lamentations, he employed them in preparations for a vigorous defence. The fortifications were repaired, the magazines replenished, and the spirits of his followers revived by assurances that a numerous host of Franks and Germans were ready to march to their relief. But if such were really the hopes of Paul, they were disappointed by the ardour of the generals of Wamba. The machines which had lately overthrown the walls of Narbonne, battered with incessant fury those of Nîmes; the French mercenaries who had been allured into the service of Paul, consulted their safety rather than their honour; they urged the impossibility of further resistance; and their impatience kindled a civil war within the distracted city. The besiegers improved the opportunity; scaled the ramparts; and displayed throughout the streets the royal banner. The ample space of an ancient amphitheatre received the most desperate or the most faithful of the adherents of Paul, and resisted for some time the tide of conquest. The interval was improved by negotiation; and Wamba to the holy mediation of Argaband arch-bishop of Narbonne, granted the lives of the nameless crowd, and only excepted from his promised mercy, Paul, and the most guilty leaders of the rebellion.

The

The feelings of an injured monarch might have justified the instant execution of the perfidious rebel. But on every occasion the resentment of Wamba was restricted by his regard for justice. In the presence of the army he demanded of Paul whether he had experienced from him any mark of oppression or contempt; the reply of the captive acknowledged the favour and confidence of his sovereign had been ever extended to him, and accused his own ingratitude. The judges were called upon to pronounce the sentence of the law against traitors, and Paul and his associates were condemned to death. The decision was softened by the clemency of Wamba; and the rebels were permitted to lament their fortune, or implore the forgiveness of their crime in the perpetual seclusion of a monastery.

After visiting and confirming the tranquillity of the Gothic provinces of Gaul, Wamba repassed the Pyrenees, and entered in triumph the city of Toledo. The minds of the vulgar had been dazzled by his success in war, but the judgment of the more sagacious stamped the merit of his regulations in peace. The luxury of the clergy, the frequent, perhaps the invidious, complaint of every age and clime, excited the attention of the Gothic king; and in a general assembly at Toledo, new canons were promulgated to restore the ancient simplicity of the church. It is not probable that the meetings of the unpolished conquerors of Spain were conducted with the greatest regard to decorum; and the first law of the assembly of Toledo was calculated to repress the tumultuous clamours, or licentious harangues which too frequently disgraced it; the words are remarkable: "Such as are members of this, or any other council, shall behave with the utmost modesty, and speak with the greatest decency, observing at other times a perfect silence,"

“ lence, and, by a strict attention, testifying their
 “ respect of the place they are in. Whenever
 “ they are called upon for their opinions, they
 “ shall deliver themselves with much circumspec-
 “ tion, without any variation from truth, without
 “ any sarcasms, without needless repetitions that
 “ create confusion, and without indulging an un-
 “ seasonable wit amidst serious and important bu-
 “ siness.” The regulation may have originated
 among an uncivilized people, and in a period of
 barbarism; but the polite legislators of modern
 France and Britain, must confess it neither unwor-
 thy of, nor unnecessary in, their own times.

The authority of Wamba had been vindicated
 from a powerful and perfidious rebel, and the
 glory of his country was asserted against a formida-
 ble and infidel enemy. In the rapid growth of less
 than a century, the faith of Mahomet from the dis-
 tant region of Arabia had overshadowed the pro-
 vinces of the east; had penetrated into and sub-
 dued the greatest part of Africa; and from the
 ports of that continent their piratical squadrons had
 menaced or ravaged the coast of Andalusia. Their
 progress had alarmed the declining age of Recisuin-
 tho; and it excited the jealousy and warlike pre-
 parations of Wamba. To protect the repose of
 Spain, and to chastise the pride of the ferocious
 Saracens, a numerous fleet was diligently prepared
 by the Gothic king; and though the Visigoths, ac-
 customed only to combat at land, might at first re-
 gard the new theatre of action with terror, they
 soon vanquished their fears, and from a variety of
 desultory conflicts, returned home with spoil and
 victory. The bold and persevering disposition of
 the Saracens allowed them not readily to renounce
 the hopes of plunder and conquests; their squa-
 drons were collected; and when they reviewed the
 prodigious number of their vessels, they might justly
 advance

advance in the full confidence of certain success. From the coast of Andalusia might be beheld the hostile ensigns of Christ and Mahomet; from the former renown and subsequent achievements of the Mahometans, we may be assured that the Christians did not exult in a bloodless victory; but the proof of it was as decisive as glorious. Two hundred and seventy vessels of the Saracens were towed in triumph into the ports of Spain. The muselman pride was humbled; their naval strength broken; the conquest of Spain was for some time abandoned; and had the successors of Wamba imitated the vigour and vigilance of that prince, their country, secure in its natural situation, might have braved the host of the faithful, and never have been bowed beneath the Mahometan yoke.

But the kingdom of the Visigoths was rent by the kindred passions of jealousy, of resentment, and ambition. The reign of Wamba had been distinguished by a series of great and illustrious actions; it had been acknowledged as the æra of wisdom and justice. Yet amidst the affection of his subjects and the admiration of his neighbours, the king of the Visigoths was deprived of the crown his virtues had adorned. It might naturally have been expected that the reign of the conqueror of Paul and the Saracens could only have expired with his life; that he either perished by the dagger of an assassin, or was overwhelmed by an hostile confederacy of rival sovereigns. Yet the fate of Wamba is not related without hesitation, and the concurrence of various historians; nor can it be read without exciting a smile. A strong opiate was administered to him by the treachery of a domestic, and as he laboured beneath the effects of the stupifying potion, the opportunity was improved by Erviga, an ambitious Goth who boasted his descent from Athanegilde; his long and silver locks, the symbol

of his dignity, were severed by the daring hand of Erviga; his head was shaved; and Wamba, for he was a king no more, awoke to the full sense of his injury. He dissembled his surprise; assumed the language of voluntary retirement; and stifled the emotions of revenge to promote the tranquillity of Spain. He recommended as his successor the traitor who had defrauded him of royalty; and within the holy walls of a monastery heard, without exulting in, the abdication of Erviga. In that peaceful retreat he could reflect without remorse or regret on the measures he had pursued, and the station he had occupied; the last years of his life were certainly the most happy, though not the most splendid; and the indifference with which he bore the loss of a crown, proved how truly he was worthy to possess it.

The testimony of Wamba, united the A. D. 680, suffrages of the national council of Toledo, 693, in favour of Erviga; and a kingdom that had been obtained by treachery, was governed with justice and wisdom. Some suspicions had escaped of his treason towards Wamba; but the murmurs of the people were appeased by the address of their sovereign, who, to extinguish the embers of faction, neglected the pretensions of his own sons; and with the hand of his daughter Cixilona, called the nephew and heir of Wamba to the certain succession of the throne. In the dark and confused legends of the Spanish historians, some words are dropped of domestic insurrection; and a victory of Erviga is variously supposed to have been over the Gascons who invaded Spain, or the Visigoths who revolted in Gaul. But this appears to have been the only instance of foreign or civil war; and during the eight years that he held the sceptre of Spain, that country was preserved in peace and security by his vigour and prudence.

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At the expiration of that term he was seized with a dangerous indisposition ; and during the suspension of disease he scrupulously observed the solemn vow that he had made, to quit the robes of royalty for the habit of a penitent. He declared, or prevailed on the Gothic nobles to receive, Egiza as his successor ; and in return for the crown he bestowed, he exacted an oath from Egiza to repair any wrongs that he himself had inadvertently occasioned. Satisfied with this stipulation, his head was shaved, and he assumed the garb of a monk ; but he was not long suffered to edify his subjects by the example of repentance ; and he breathed his last a few days after he resigned the sceptre.

In the possession of a throne the peace of Egiza was invaded by a pious scruple. He had sworn to repair the injustice of Erviga, and he had bound himself by a solemn oath to protect his widow and children ; yet Luivagotona, the consort of Erviga, had availed herself of her influence over that prince to usurp the demesnes of several of his subjects ; and justice demanded the restitution. In a council of the clergy Egiza stated the irreconcilable obligations he had accepted ; his doubts were solved by the answer of that assembly ; policy or interest recommended them to release Egiza from his first oath ; and to recommend the resumption of the demesnes that Luivagotona had usurped.

It was in one of the legislative assemblies of Toledo during the reign of Egiza, that the code of laws which had been compiled by a succession of Gothic kings from the fierce Euric to the sagacious Erviga, was examined, and ratified. As long as the Visigoths themselves were satisfied with the rude customs of their ancestors, they indulged the subjects of Gaul and Spain in the enjoyment of the Roman law. Their gradual improvement in arts, in policy, and at length in religion, encouraged them

to imitate, and to supersede those foreign institutions; and to compose a code of civil and criminal jurisprudence, for the use of a great and united people. The same obligations, and the same privileges were communicated to the nations of the Spanish monarchy: and the conquerors, insensibly renouncing the Teutonic idiom, submitted to the restraints of equity, and exalted the Romans to the participation of freedom. The code of the Visigoths has been treated by the president de Montesquieu with excessive severity. He has lavished on it the epithets of puerile and ridiculous; he has declared it to have been incapable of attaining its end; to have been frivolous in substance, and turgid in style. The language it is conveyed in may indeed justly have deserved his censure; and the superstition which pervades it may subject it to reproach; yet according to the testimony of a more modern, and much esteemed writer's judgment, it possessed the merit of impartial policy, and deserved the praise of wisdom and moderation.

It softened at least the condition of the subjected; and while throughout the spacious realms of Gaul and Italy the vanquished native sunk into the abject slave of the conqueror, the Spaniard was permitted to ransom his freedom, and not unfrequently to redeem his property, by the payment of a small fine or annual rent; the feudal system which has been so often, and by an historian of our own country so elegantly described, prevailed indeed from the straits of Gibraltar to the mountains of the Pyrenees; but the harshness of its features were meliorated by prudence or humanity; and although in war the vassal was obliged to follow the standard, in peace he might with confidence appeal from the arrogance and oppression, of his lord.

CHAPTER IV.

Conspiracy of the Jews with the Mahometans of Africa.—War with the Franks and Gascons.—Death of Egiza, and accession of Witiza.—The Pope's claim of supremacy is rejected in the council of Toledo.—Tyranny of Witiza.—Revolt and elevation of Roderic.—Treachery of Count Julian.—Invasion of the Saracens.—Battle of Xeres.—Flight and death of Roderic.—Exploits of Tarik.—Of Musa.—Of Abdalaziz.—The greatest part of Spain conquered.—Recall of Musa.—Government of Abdalaziz.—His marriage with the widow of Roderic.—He is assassinated.—Rival factions of the Abbassides and Omniades.—Abdalahman appears on the coast of Spain.—His victory over the Abbassides.—He establishes his independent throne at Cordova.—The era of Arabian splendour in Spain.—Reign of the third Abdalahman.—His wealth and magnificence.—Town and palace of Zehra.—His revenue.—Trade and natural productions of Spain.—Character of Alkalem the second.—His justice.—He is succeeded by his infant son Hassem.—Renown of Almanzor, the vizir of Hassem.—Overthrow of the house of the Omniades.—Degeneracy and dissensions of the Moors of Spain.

IN the generous policy of an equal and impartial code of laws, Egiza might justly have hoped that the reign of the Gothic princes in Spain would have been prolonged through successive centuries by the union of their Christian subjects. Yet he was not long permitted to indulge
A. D. 682.
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the pleasing illusion ; his mind was distracted by the rapid progress of the Saracens on the opposite coast of Africa ; he dreaded the enthusiastic valour and rapacious myriads of the general enemies of Christianity ; and his apprehensions were kept awake by the resentment of a sect, whom he had persecuted and despised.

The decree which had commanded the expulsion of the Jews from Spain had been eluded by avarice ; and that wretched people by the connivance of the governors of the provinces, and of the successors of Chintila, had been permitted to pursue and improve the arts of trade and commerce. But without a legal establishment, the fruits of their ingenuity or labour, and even their lives, were exposed to the caprice or covetousness of their rulers. They might sometimes complain of wanton cruelty ; but they could always, and with justice, accuse the insatiate demands of the hungry Visigoths ; they were suffered to accumulate only to swell the coffers of their masters ; the thirst of revenge became more strong in proportion as it was necessary to cherish it in silence ; they exulted in the victories of the Mahometans ; they continued a dangerous and hostile correspondence with their brethren, who under the administration of Chintila had sheltered themselves from persecution in Africa ; and on their assurances of support, and with the secret hope of more effectual succour from the Saracens, they fixed the day to erect the standard of revolt.

Before the appointed time arrived, their preparations had alarmed, or their intentions had been betrayed to, Egiza. In a national council the Gothic king unfolded the conspiracy, and ratified the punishment of the Jews. The public exercise of their religion was prohibited under the most severe penalties ; their children under seven years of age were directed to be taken from them, and to be educated

educated in the Christian faith; and those who presumed to conspire against their sovereign, or who, after having been purified in the baptismal font, returned to their ancient heresy, were deprived of their property and liberty.

The premature discovery of the conspiracy of the Jews, might disconcert, but did not deter the Saracens from aspiring to the conquest of Spain. Their numerous squadrons issued from the ports of Africa, and menaced again the coasts of Andalusia. But their pride was chastised by a second naval defeat; and the victory which dispelled the immediate apprehensions of the Visigoths, was ascribed to the valour and conduct of the youthful Theodomir, the son-in-law of Egiza.

A short but bloody war with the Franks or Gascons was terminated by the mutual weakness and losses of both nations; and Egiza in the moment of tranquillity might, in establishing the succession to the crown, equally consider the happiness of his people, and the aggrandisement of his family. In a national assembly at Toledo his son was associated with him in the regal dignity; and soon after the death of Egiza, devolved on Witiza the undivided administration of Spain.

During the first months of his reign, Witiza might be considered as the protector and father of his people; during the last years he was the scourge and tyrant of his subjects. The advantages which his country derived from a short affectation of virtue, were few and transient; the evils with which she was afflicted from the indulgence of his passions and vices were numerous and lasting. Yet one instance of firmness marks his accession: with the title of Pope, and as the successor of St. Peter, the patriarch of Rome, claimed an absolute dominion over the Christian states of Europe; but in the eighteenth council of Toledo, a spirit of ecclesiastical

tical freedom was kindled by the eloquence of the metropolitan Gundaric. He vindicated the independence of the church of Spain: his piety and blameless manners gave weight to his arguments; and the extravagant pretensions of the see of Rome were encountered with decent and manly opposition.

If justice or virtue had taken root within the bosom of Witiza, they were soon eradicated by the flattering language of a licentious train of courtiers, who successfully insinuated that youth was the season for pleasure and enjoyment, and that the sovereign was to be distinguished from his subjects by his more ample privilege of luxury and prodigality. The pleasing doctrine was readily preferred to the distasteful admonitions of the holy Gundaric; the court of Witiza was disgraced by scenes of shameless excess and debauchery; and the wives and daughters of the most illustrious of the Gothic nobles were violated by his lusts. To a vicious tyrant, virtue must ever become the object of hatred and jealousy; to intemperance succeeded cruelty; and those whose qualities and descent from the most honoured of his predecessors recommended them to popular favour, were, as distrust or caprice prevailed, sentenced to banishment or death.

Yet the detestation of the tyrant has been indulged by the historians of his reign beyond the bounds of truth or probability. We may safely reject the law that he is reported to have framed, and which gratified the amorous inclinations of his subjects, by unlimited polygamy. We may distrust the regulation which enjoined the destruction of all offensive weapons throughout Spain; and the invasion of the Moors, and the sieges they encountered, convince us how falsely he is accused of dismantling, with the exception of Toledo, Tuy, and

and Astorga, all the cities throughout his dominions.

However exaggerated or perverted may be the chronicles of those times, it may be pronounced with certainty that the follies and vices of Witiza were glaring and numerous, since they at length provoked the open indignation of his subjects, and consummated his destruction. Among the noble sufferers from his jealousy was Theodored, who is described as the brother, but who most likely was the nephew of Reciswintho; he was deprived of his sight, and sent a prisoner to Cordova; but the hours of darkness and captivity were beguiled by the filial affection of the son Roderic; in their free converse their murmurs against their oppressor were gradually inflamed to an hope and a project of revenge. His father's wrongs, and the memory of Reciswintho pleaded powerfully for Roderic; he erected the standard of revolt; and the thousands who in themselves or their connexions had either felt or dreaded the lust or cruelty of the tyrant, joined him with alacrity; a civil war was kindled and raged for some time with doubtful violence; but was at length terminated by the deposition or death of Witiza, and the elevation of Roderic to the throne of the Visigoths.

By the fall of Witiza, and his own accession to royalty, Roderic had gratified the emotions of revenge and ambition; but he was not long in possession of the crown of Spain before he was instructed that his ascent to greatness was equally dangerous to himself and his country. Across the narrow channel which divides Europe from Africa, the fortress of Ceuta had been defended by the valour and skill of count Julian against the host of the Saracens; and while Musa, the leader of the faithful, revolved his disappointment with indignation, his hopes were awakened, not only to the
entire

entire reduction of Africa, but to the conquest of Spain, by the proffered alliance of the chief, and the surrender of the fortrefs from which he had so lately retired with disgrace.

In extenuating or accounting for the treachery of Julian, the Spanish historians repeat the popular story of his daughter Cava violated by the guilty passion of Roderic; but the tale, romantic in itself, is ill supported by external evidence. Some doubts have occurred whether it was the wife or daughter of the Gothic general whose honour was profaned. It has even been insinuated that the injury was offered by Witiza, and not by Roderic; nor are there wanting critics who have totally rejected the suspicious narrative. A more probable reason for the revolt of Julian has been assigned by the luminous historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, who has described with elegance and conciseness the invasion of Spain by the Saracens, and whose account of that memorable revolution is preserved in the succeeding pages. The voice of the nation had indeed placed the sceptre in the hand of Roderic; but the sons of Witiza, impatient of a private station, waited the moment to assert their hereditary pretensions in arms. Their followers were excited by the remembrance of favours and the promise of a revolution; and their uncle Oppas, the archbishop of Seville, possessed an equal influence in the church and state. It is probable Julian had little to hope and much to fear from the new reign; his merit and popularity rendered him an useful or formidable subject; his estates were ample, his adherents numerous and bold; and it was too fatally shewn that by his Andalusian and Mauritanian commands, he held in his hands the keys of the Spanish monarchy. Too feeble however to meet his sovereign in arms, he sought the aid of a foreign power; and his rash invitation
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of the Moors and Arabs, produced the calamities of eight hundred years. In his epistles, or in a personal interview, he revealed the wealth and nakedness of his country; the weakness of a disputed throne; the degeneracy of an effeminate people. The Goths were no longer the victorious Barbarians who humbled the pride of Rome, despoiled the queen of nations, and penetrated from the Danube to the Atlantic ocean. Secluded from the world by the Pyrenean mountains, the successors of Alaric had slumbered in a long peace. The walls of the cities were mouldered into dust; the youth had abandoned the exercise of arms; and the presumption of their ancient renown would expose them in a field of battle to the first assault of the invaders. The ambitious Saracen was fired by the ease and importance of the attempt; but the execution was delayed till he had consulted the commander of the faithful; and his messenger returned with the permission of Walid, to annex the unknown kingdoms of the west to the religion and throne of the Caliphs. In his residence of Tangier, Musa, with secrecy and caution continued his correspondence and hastened his preparations. But the remorse of the conspirators was soothed by the fallacious assurance that he should content himself with the glory and the spoil, without aspiring to establish the Moslems beyond the sea that separates Africa from Europe.

In two successive attempts the naval force of the Saracens had been broken by the Gothic fleet; but Roderic, either distracted by civil war and intent on revenge, or confiding in the vigilance and fidelity of Julian, neglected the natural means of defence; the unguarded coast invited the descent of the Moslems. Yet before Musa would trust an army of the faithful to the dangers of a foreign and Christian land, he made a
A. D. 710,
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less dangerous trial of their strength and veracity. In the year seven hundred and ten after the birth of Christ, one hundred Arabs, and four hundred Africans passed over in four vessels from Tangier or Ceuta; the place of their disembarkation on the opposite shore of the strait is marked by the name of Tarik, their chief; from their first station, they marched eighteen miles through an hilly country to the castle and town of Julian; the appellation of the green island, which from a verdant cape that advances into the sea, they bestowed upon it, is still perpetuated by a corruption from the Arabic, in the name of Algezira. Their hospitable entertainment, the Christian vassals of Julian who joined their standard, their inroad into a fertile and unguarded province, the richness of their spoil, and the safety of their return, announced to their brethren the most favourable omens of victory. In the ensuing spring five thousand veterans and volunteers were embarked under the command of Tarik, a dauntless and skilful soldier, who surpassed the expectation of his chief. The necessary transports were provided by the industry of their too faithful ally. The Saracens landed at the pillar or point of Europe; the corrupt and familiar appellation of Gibraltar (*Gabal al Tairik*) describes the mountain of Tarik; and the intrenchments of his camp were the first outlines of those fortifications which in the hands of Great Britain have resisted the art and power of the united house of Bourbon.

Roderic had slumbered over the preparations and first attempt of the Saracens, he was awakened by the magnitude of their second invasion; yet instead of collecting his whole force and advancing in person to crush the rash intruders, he contented himself with dispatching his lieutenant Edeco, at the head of some select troops, to arrest their

their progress. The Visigoths, enervated by luxury, were incapable of withstanding the martial enthusiasm of the Moslem fanatics; and the flight of Edeca revealed to Roderic the approach of the enemy, and his own danger.

The Visigoths were still capable of great and formidable efforts; the standard of their sovereignty was unfurled; and at the royal summons, the dukes and counts, the bishops and nobles of the Gothic monarchy assembled at the head of their followers. The host that marched under the conduct of Roderic consisted of ninety or an hundred thousand men, and must have insured victory, had their discipline and fidelity been adequate to their numbers. But the Visigoths long unaccustomed to, were oppressed by the weight of armour; and the sons of Witiza, who consented to range themselves under the royal banner, remembered the condition and fate of a father and a kinsman, and their own ambitious hopes blasted by the promotion of Roderic.

Yet even the fanaticism of the Moslems could not be insensible to the preparations of the Goths. The promise of Paradise was weighed against the danger of the unequal field; and the prudence of Tank was displayed in his timely retreat, while he solicited and obtained the assistance of his African brethren. By the diligence of Musa the Saracens were augmented to twelve thousand; and to these were joined a promiscuous crowd of Christian malecontents who were attracted by the influence of Julian, and of Africans greedy to taste the temporal blessings of the Koran. About two leagues from Cadiz, the town of Xeres, has been illustrated by the encounter which determined the fate of the kingdom; the stream of the Guadalato, which falls into the bay, divided the two camps, and marked the advancing and retreating skirmishes of three successive

successive and bloody days. On the fourth day the two armies joined a more serious and decisive issue; but, in the moment when they were most necessary, Roderic seems to have been deprived of the qualities which had raised him to a throne; Alaric would have blushed at the sight of his unworthy successor, sustaining on his head a diadem of pearls, incumbered with a flowing robe of gold and silken embroidery, and reclining on a litter, or car of ivory, drawn by two white mules. Notwithstanding the valour of the Saracens they fainted under the weight of multitudes; and the plain of Xeres was overspread with their dead bodies. "My brethren," said Tarik, to his surviving companions, "the enemy is before you, the sea is behind; whither would ye fly? follow your general: I am resolved either to lose my life, or to trample on the prostrate king of the Visigoths." Besides the resource of despair, he confided in the secret correspondence, and nocturnal interviews of count Julian, with the sons and brother of Witiza. The two princes and the archbishop of Seville occupied the most important post; their well-timed defection broke the ranks of the Christians; each warrior was prompted by fear or suspicion to consult his personal safety; and the greatest part of the Gothic army were scattered or destroyed in the flight and pursuit of the three following days. Amidst the general disorder, Roderic started from his car, and mounted Orelia, the fleetest of his horses. Some credulous Spaniards believed that in a hermit's cell he concealed his disgrace, and eluded the search of all his enemies; but it is more probable that he escaped a soldier's death to perish ignobly in the waters of the Boetis or Guadalquivir. His diadem, his robes, and his courser were found on the bank; but as the body of the Gothic prince was buried in the waves, the pride and ignorance of

of the Caliph must have been gratified with some meaner head, which was exposed in triumph before the palace of Damascus. "And such," continues a valiant historian of the Arabs, "is the fate of those kings who withdraw themselves from a field of battle."

The fortifications of Eciga, a strong town situated on a branch of the Guadalquivir, and not far from the theatre of their defeat, afforded a temporary asylum to the fugitive Visigoths. But the walls were soon encompassed and assaulted by the victorious Saracens; and if the besieged were confirmed in their resistance by despair, the besiegers were animated in their attacks by the double hope of plunder and of Paradise. After a short but bloody struggle, the standard of Mahomet was displayed on the ramparts; the garrison was overpowered; and the defenceless inhabitants were involved in the promiscuous slaughter by the inexorable victors.

Count Julian had plunged so deep in guilt and infamy, that his only hope was in the ruin of his country. After the battle of Xeres, and the capture of Eciga, he recommended the most effectual measures to the Moslem invaders. "The king of the Goths is slain; their princes are fled before you; the army is routed; the nation is astonished. Secure with sufficient detachments the cities of Boetica; but in person, and without delay, march to the royal city of Toledo, and allow not the distracted Christians either time or tranquillity for the election of a new monarch."

Tarik listened to his advice. A Roman captive and proselyte who had been enfranchised by the Caliph himself, assaulted Cordova with seven hundred horse. He swam the river, surprised the town, and drove the Christians into the great church, where they defended themselves above three months.

Another detachment reduced the sea coast of Bætica, which in the last period of the Moorish power, has comprised in a narrow space the populous kingdom of Grenada. The march of Tarik from the Bætis to the Tagus might consist of near two hundred miles, and was directed through the Sierra Morena, that separates Andalusia and Castille, till he appeared in arms under the walls of Toledo. The most zealous of the Catholics had escaped with the relics of their saints; and if the gates were shut, it was only till the victor had subscribed a fair and reasonable capitulation. The voluntary exiles were allowed to depart with their effects; seven churches were appropriated to the Christian worship; the archbishop and his clergy were at liberty to exercise their functions, the monks to practise or neglect their penance; and the Goths and Romans were left in all civil and criminal cases to the subordinate jurisdiction of their own laws and magistrates.

But if the justice of Tarik protected the Christians, his gratitude and policy rewarded the Jews, to whose secret or open aid he was indebted for his most important acquisitions. Persecuted by the kings and synods of Spain, who had often pressed the alternative of banishment or baptism, that outcast nation embraced the moment of revenge. The comparison of their past and present state was the pledge of their fidelity; and the alliance between the disciples of Moses and of Mahomet, was maintained till the final æra of their common expulsion.

From the reduction or submission of Toledo, the sons and brother of Witiza found themselves no longer necessary to the victors; they had consented to be considered as the confederates, and they sunk into the dependents of the enemies of their country and religion. From the royal seat of Toledo, the Arabian leader spread his conquests to the north

north over the modern realms of Castille and Leon. The prostrate cities opened their gates and surrendered their treasures on his approach. The celebrated table of one single piece of solid emerald, encircled with three rows of fine pearls, supported by three hundred and sixty-five feet of gems and massy gold, and estimated at the price of five hundred thousand pieces of gold, acquired by the Goths among the spoils of Rome, was presented by the Arabs to the throne of Damascus. Beyond the Asturian mountains the maritime town of Gijon bounded the progress of the lieutenant of Musa, who had performed his victorious march of seven hundred miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the Bay of Biscay. Spain, which in a more savage and disorderly state had resisted two hundred years the arms of the Romans, was over-run in a few months by those of the Saracens; and such was the eagerness of submission and treaty, that the Governor of Cordova is recorded as the only chief who fell, without conditions, a prisoner into their hands. The cause of the Goths had been irrevocably judged in the field of Xeres; and, in the national dismay, each part of the monarchy declined a contest with the antagonist who had vanquished the united strength of the whole. That strength had been wasted by two successive years of pestilence and famine; and the governors who were impatient to surrender, might exaggerate the difficulties of collecting the provisions necessary to sustain a siege. To disarm the Christians, superstition likewise contributed her terrors; the subtle Arab encouraged the report of dreams, omens, and prophecies; in the palace of Toledo, an ancient tower had been regarded as the structure of magic; and the tradition, that whenever it was opened the Gothic monarchy should be extinguished, had been respected by the successors of Alaric. The mind of Roderic was inflamed by the hope of an immense treasure, and

his avarice impelled him to tempt the charm. The gates were unlocked or burst open; and a massy chest in an inward apartment was the object of his eager curiosity. Instead of gold and silver, it was found to contain on a long roll of linen the ferocious features of the Saracens, with an inscription that such was destined to be the conquerors of Spain. The historian who has preserved the tale, has apologised for his insertion of it; but if it was eagerly received by the Goths and Spaniards, the belief of it contributed to produce the consequences it was supposed to have predicted; and an army already impressed with the presage of defeat, could but faintly aspire to the glory of victory.

From Gijon, Tarik had been recalled to Toledo, to excuse his presumption of conquering a kingdom in the absence of his general. The intelligence of his rapid success had converted the applause of Musa into envy; and he began, not to complain, but to fear that Tarik would leave him nothing to subdue. At the head of ten thousand Arabs and eight thousand Africans he passed over in person from Mauritania to Spain. The first of his companions were descended from the most noble tribe of Arabia; his eldest son was left to command in Africa; the three younger brethren were of an age and spirit to second the boldest enterprises of their father. At his landing at Algezire he was respectfully entertained by count Julian, who stifled his inward remorse, and testified both in words and actions, that the victory of the Arabs had not impaired his attachment to the cause. Some enemies yet remained for the sword of Musa. The tardy repentance of the Goths had compared their own numbers and those of the invaders; the cities from which the march of Tarik had declined, considered themselves as impregnable; and the bravest patriots defended the fortifications of Seville and Merida.

Merida. They were successively besieged, and reduced by the labour of Musa, who transported his camp from the Bœtis or Guadalquivir to the Anas or Guadiana. When he beheld the works of Roman magnificence, the bridge, the aqueducts, the triumphal arches, and the theatre of the ancient metropolis of Lusitania, "I should imagine," exclaimed he, "that the human race must have united their art and power in the foundation of this city; happy is the man who shall become its master." He aspired to that happiness, but the Emeritans sustained on this occasion the honour of their descent from the veteran legionaries of Augustus. Disdaining the confinement of their walls, they gave battle to the Arabs on the plain; but an ambuscade rising from the shelter of a quarry or a ruin, chastised their indiscretion, and intercepted their return. The wooden turrets of assault were rolled forward to the foot of the ramparts; but the defence of Merida was obstinate and long; and the *castle of the martyrs* was a perpetual testimony of the losses of the Moslems. The constancy of the besieged was at length subdued by famine and despair; and the prudent victor disguised his impatience under the names of clemency and esteem. The alternative of exile or tribute was allowed; the churches were divided between the two religions, and the wealth of those who had fallen in the siege, or retired to Galicia, was confiscated as the reward of the faithful.

The adventurous spirit of Tarik had first explored in Spain the road to conquest; yet in an interview between Musa and his lieutenant, a rigid account was demanded from the latter of the spoils of victory. His character was exposed to suspicion and obloquy; he was imprisoned, reviled, and ignominiously scourged by the hand, or the command of Musa. Yet so strict was the discipline, so pure
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the zeal of the primitive Moslems, that after this public indignity, Tarik could serve and be trusted in the reduction of the Tarragonese province. The gates and treasures of Saragossa were delivered up to Musa; and by the pious liberality of his companions a mosch was erected within the walls of that city; the port of Barcelona was opened to the vessels of Syria; but the flight of the Goths beyond the Pyrenean mountains was most probably respected by the Saracen general; and the best historians postpone the invasion of Gaul by the Moslems, to above twenty years after that of Spain.

While Musa pursued his victorious career to the foot of the Pyrenean mountains, his son Abdelaziz chastised the insurgents of Seville; and penetrated along the sea-coast of the Mediterranean from Malaga to Valentia. In the districts of Murcia and Carthagera, whose plains are fertilized by the waters of the Segura, he was opposed by an adversary worthy of the arms of the Moslems. Theodomir was the son-in-law of Egiza, and had in the reign of that monarch, rendered his name terrible to the Saracens, by the defeat and almost the destruction of their fleet. Under the administration of Roderic his counsels were neglected, and his valour probably unemployed. But when that prince was no more, he started from obscurity; and his former renown collected to his standard a band of martial Christians; at their head he waged with success a desultory war; and even the enthusiastic valour of the Saracens seems to have sunk before his genius; Abdelaziz communicated his difficulties to, and invoked the assistance of his father; the rapid squadrons of Arabia rushed to his relief. Theodomir was surrounded on every side; and the pious enmity of the Moslems might have been gratified by the slaughter of several thousand Christians, had not the sanguinary counsels of the former been temper-
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ed by the prudence or generosity of Abdelaziz ; his original treaty with Theodomir will represent the manners and policy of the times. *The conditions of peace agreed and sworn between Abdelaziz the son of Musa, the son of Nassir, and Theodomir prince of the Goths.* “In the name of the most merciful

“God, Abdelaziz makes peace on these conditions ; *that* Theodomir shall not be disturbed in his principality ; nor any injury be offered to the life or property, the wives and children, the religion and temples of the Christians ; *that* Theodomir shall freely deliver his seven cities Orithwell, Valentola, Alicant, Mola, Vacasora, Bigerra, *now* Begar, Ora or Opta, and Lorca ; *that* he shall not assist or entertain the enemies of the Caliph, but shall faithfully communicate his knowledge of their hostile designs ; *that* himself, and each of the Gothic nobles, shall annually pay one piece of gold, four measures of wheat, as many of barley, with a certain proportion of honey, oil, and vinegar ; and that each of their vassals shall be taxed at one moiety of the said imposition. Given the fourth of Regab in the year of the Hegira ninety-four, and subscribed with the names of four mussulmen witnesses.”

In the conditions of peace Theodomir and his subjects must have confessed the lenity of their conquerors ; the articles were strictly observed ; and four hundred years after the death of Theodomir, his territories of Murcia and Carthagera, according to the Nubian geographer Edrifi, preserved the remembrance of his administration and his name in the corrupt appellation of Tadmir.

It was not only the natives of Murcia and Carthagera who were compelled to acknowledge the moderation of their Mahometan masters. Many partial calamities were doubtless inflicted by the carnal or religious passions of the enthusiasts ; some churches

churches were profaned by the new worship ; some relics or images were confounded with idols ; the rebels were put to the sword ; and one town, an obscure place between Cordova and Seville, was razed to its foundations ; yet in general the footsteps of the Saracens were far from being marked with blood or devastation ; they exacted the rights of conquest, but they exacted them with temperance ; and the rate of the tribute which they imposed appears to have fluctuated from a tenth to a fifth, according to the submission or obstinacy of the Christians.

The possession of Spain was considered by Musa only as the first step to the monarchy of Europe. With a powerful armament by sea and land he was preparing to transfer the war beyond the Pyrenees, to extinguish in Gaul and Italy the kingdoms of the Franks and Lombards, and to preach the doctrines of Mahomet on the altar of the Vatican. From thence subduing the Barbarians of Germany, he proposed to follow the course of the Danube from its source to the Euxine sea, to overthrow the Greek or Roman empire of Constantinople, and returning from Europe to Asia, to unite his acquisitions with Antioch, and the provinces of Syria. But he was only permitted to revolve the vast enterprize ; and the visionary conqueror was soon reminded of his dependence and servitude. The friends of Tarik had effectually stated his services and wrongs at the court of Damascus, the proceedings of Musa were blamed, his intentions suspected, and his delay in complying with the first invitation was chastized by an harsher and more preremptory summons. An intrepid messenger of the Caliph entered his camp at Lugo in Gallicia, and in the presence of the Saracens and Christians arrested the bridle of his horse. His own loyalty, or that of his troops, inculcated the duty of obedience ; and his

his disgrace was alleviated by the recall of his rival, and the permission of investing with the government of Spain his son Abdelaziz. His long triumph from Ceuta to Damascus, displayed the spoils of Africa and the treasures of Spain. Four hundred Gothic nobles, with gold coronets and girdles, were distinguished in his train; and the number of male and female captives, selected for their birth or beauty, was computed at eighteen, or even at thirty thousand persons. As soon as he reached Tiberias in Palestine, he was apprised of the sickness and danger of the Caliph, by a private messenger from Soliman his brother and presumptive heir, who wished to reserve for his own reign the spectacle of victory. Had Walid recovered, the delay of Musa would have been criminal; he pursued his march, and found an enemy on the throne. In his trial before a partial judge, against a popular antagonist, he was convicted of vanity and falsehood; and a fine of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, either exhausted his poverty or proved his rapaciousness. The unworthy treatment of Tarik was avenged by a similar indignity; and the veteran commander, after a public whipping, stood a whole day in the sun before the palace gate, till he obtained a decent exile under the pious name of a pilgrimage to Mecca.

The punishment of Musa may accuse the justice of the Caliph; yet where the personal resentment of Soliman interfered not, he appears to have been sensible of equity and capable of humanity. Among the few Visigoths who accompanied, without wearing the chains of Musa, Theodomir was the most distinguished for his merit, the sons of Witiza were most conspicuous for their birth; the former was received with respect by the commander of the faithful; his treaty with Abdelaziz was ratified; and his return in safety instructed his countrymen
that

that they might repose with confidence on the faith of the Moslems. The sons of Witiza were reinstated in the private patrimony of their father; but on the decease of Eba the elder, his daughter was unjustly despoiled of her portion by the violence of her uncle Sisebut. The Gothic maid pleaded her cause before the Caliph Hisham, and obtained the restitution of her inheritance; she was given in marriage to a noble Arabian, and their two sons, Isaac and Ibrahim, were received in Spain with the consideration that was due to their origin and riches.

The guilt of Julian, if we may credit the doubtful historians of that age, was expiated by an end more deservedly wretched. After betraying the cause of his country and his religion, he could not expect to share the confidence of the infidel victors. His counsels were slighted, his services coldly acknowledged or tardily rewarded; and an hasty murmur of discontent that escaped him was greedily received, and improved into the project of a new revolution; his vast estates were confiscated; he was thrown into a deep dungeon; and the contempt of his masters suffered him to languish out the wretched remnant of his life in chains and darkness. The calamities his ambition or resentment had inflicted on his country recoiled on his own head; yet it was not from the hands of the Saracens that he merited his unhappy destiny; and his fate reveals the jealousy or ingratitude of Abdelaziz.

The son of Musa was himself soon destined to experience the vicissitudes of fortune; the administration of Spain had been delegated to him by his father, and in the arduous station, above the condition of a subject, and below that of a sovereign, his active vigilance had challenged the praise of the victors and the vanquished. But the happy effect

effect of his abilities and his virtues were effaced by one injudicious and ill-fated passion. His heart was sensible to the charms of Egilona, the widow of Roderic, and his marriage with her offended the prejudices both of the Christians and Moslems. His new consort might first have inflamed him with the desire of independent sovereignty; and the injurious treatment of his father must have fortified him in the design of erecting his throne at Cordova. But the minds of the Moslems were not yet ripe for rebellion; they still revered in the Caliph the holy successor of Mahomet; and no sooner was a suspicion of the intentions of Abdelaziz diffused, than a powerful conspiracy was cemented against him. The destruction of the son of Musa could not, it was justly supposed, prove unacceptable to the court of Damascus. But the manner of his death was a reproach to the sanctity of the Moslems. As at the hour of prayer, with the primitive simplicity of the Arabs, he repaired alone to the mosch of Cordova, he was attacked and murdered by the conspirators. His death was heard with indifference by the Goths and Saracens; his head was transmitted to the Caliph; and by a refinement in cruelty was presented to the father with the insulting question, whether he acknowledged the features of the rebel? "I know his features," he exclaimed with indignation. "I assert his innocence; and I imprecate the same, a juster fate against the authors of his death." But the age and despair of Musa raised him above the power of kings, and he expired at Mecca of the anguish of a broken heart.

On the assassination of Abdelaziz, Ayub, the most guilty or the most zealous of the conspirators, assumed the administration of Spain; he was soon removed by the superior favour or merit of Alahor; and the new lieutenant of the Caliph, after severely chastising

chastising the rapacity, prepared to exercise the valour of the Moslems, by leading an army of the faithful across the Pyrenees. The dissensions of the Franks and the weakness of the Visigoths facilitated the enterprise; the remnant of the Gothic monarchy beyond those mountains was overwhelmed by the torrent of the Saracens. The standards of Mahomet were displayed along the gulf of Lyons beyond the stream of the Garonne; the cities of Carcassone, Narbonne, Beziers, and Nismes, opened their gates or were carried by assault. But the invaders seem to have been impelled by the thirst of glory and of spoil; and satiate with slaughter and plunder, they abandoned their conquests; and repassed the Pyrenees. Yet the possession of Spain often tempted the Saracens to aspire to the total conquest of the West; their defeat under the walls of Thoulouse, inflamed instead of chilling their ardour; the south of France was blasted by their presence; and under Abderame, one of the successors of Alahor, they pitched their camp in the fruitful plains between Poitiers and Tours. They had been suffered to advance, they neither wished, nor would have been permitted to retreat. The warriors of the West were united under the command of Charles, the illegitimate son of Pepin; who, with the title of mayor, governed France with absolute power under the sanction of the Merovingian name. The banks of the Loire was the theatre of a conflict as memorable for its consequences, as for the number and renown of the combatants. During the six first days of desultory action, the horsemen and archers of the East maintained their wonted superiority; but on the seventh the host of the Saracens was in a close engagement broken by the robust stature and nervous courage of their adversaries. On that immortal day, the weighty strokes of Charles first acquired him the
surname

the name of *Martel*, the Hammer; the bloody field was strewed by Abderame himself, and, if we credit the Monkish writers, three hundred and seventy-five thousand Mahometans. But though this number is doubtless exaggerated, the victory was complete. The chiefs of the Saracens, amidst the terror of the night, provided each for his separate safety; a second irruption into Provence served only to expose them to a second defeat; and they were instructed by experience to restrain their ardour within the limits of the Pyrenees, and to guard, instead of passing, the strong posts of those mountains.

A province is assimilated to the victorious state by the introduction of strangers, and the imitative spirit of the natives; and Spain, which had been successively tinged with Punic, with Roman, and with Gothic blood, imbibed, in a few generations, the name and manners of the Arabs. The first conquerors, and the twenty successive lieutenants of the Caliphs, were attended by a numerous train of civil and military followers, who preferred a distant fortune to a narrow home. The private and public interest was promoted by the establishment of faithful colonies; and the cities of Spain were proud to commemorate the tribe or country of their Eastern progenitors. The victorious though motley bands of Tarik and Musa asserted, by the name of Spaniards, their original claim of conquest; yet they allowed their brethren of Egypt to share their establishments of Murcia and Lisbon. The royal legion of Damascus was planted at Cordova; that of Emesa at Seville; that of Chalcis at Jaen; that of Palestine at Algezire and Medina Sidonia. The natives of Arabia Felix and Persia were scattered round Toledo, and the inland country; and the fertile seats of Grenada were bestowed on ten thousand horsemen of Syria and Irak, the

the children of the purest and most noble of the Arabian tribes.

A spirit of emulation, sometimes beneficial, more frequently dangerous, was nourished by these hereditary factions. The patient and submissive spirit of the Moslems which has been so well delineated in the example of Tarik, had evaporated in the gradual acquisition of wealth and influence. The rival houses of Ommijah, and of Abbas the uncle of Mahomet, convulsed the East by their pretensions from the Indus to the Euphrates. On the banks of the Zeb the important contest was decided; Mervan the fourteenth, and last caliph of the house of Ommijah, animated his army by his presence and his example; but he was forced to yield to the enthusiasm of the Abbassides, conducted by Abdallah, the uncle of his competitor. The vanquished Caliph crossed the Euphrates; and, without halting in Palestine, pitched his last camp on the banks of the Nile; he was pursued and attacked by Abdallah; and the lance of an Abbasside terminated the reign and life of Mervan.

At a distance from the scene of action, and secured by seas and mountains, the Moslems of Spain had listened to the revolution which had agitated the East. Their zeal soon involved them in the consequences of it. In the proscription of the Ommiades a royal youth of the name of Abdalrahman alone escaped from the rage of his enemies, and gained the shelter of the vallies of mount Atlas. His presence in the neighbourhood of Spain revived through that peninsula the hopes of the party who had deplored the ruin of his house. They invited and received him on the coast of Andalusia with open arms. The white standard, the distinction of his faction, was unfurled; and the chiefs who revered the memory of the immediate successors of Mahomet, drew their sabres in his support. The defeat

defeat of the Zeb was avenged on the banks of the Guadalquivir; that river was swelled with the bodies of the slaughtered Abbassides; and the throne of the victorious Abdalrahman was established at Cordova.

It was then arose the age of Arabian gallantry and magnificence, which exalted the Moors of Spain above their contemporaries, and rendered Cordova the seat of the rival arts, and arms. Near thirty years the reign of Abdalrahman was prolonged amidst the acclamations of his people; and an hero who was indebted for the sceptre to his sword, as a sovereign encouraged and extended the mild influence of agriculture and commerce. He had solicited against the fleet and army of the caliph Almanfor, the aid of the Christians; and after victory, in his edict of pacification, he was not forgetful of their assistance; the modest imposition of ten thousand ounces of gold, ten thousand pounds of silver, ten thousand horses, as many mules, one thousand cuirasses, with an equal number of helmets and lances, rather asserted his sovereignty, than marked the ability of his subjects. The country, from a scene of desolation, rapidly assumed under his impartial government the features of wealth and prosperity. Cordova became the centre of industry, of politeness, and of genius. The bold and noble strove in tilts and tournaments; the prize of address and valour was disputed in the capital of the Omniades by the most illustrious knights from every part of Europe; and Spain was the only kingdom of the West where the influence of music was felt, and the studies of geometry, astronomy, and physic, were promoted and regularly practised.

Hassam the son and successor of Abdalrahman, was not inferior to his father in his thirst of glory and his passion for architecture. He applied the plunder
of

A. D. 755,
912.

of the southern provinces of France to the holy purpose of completing the mosch which had been begun by his predecessor. He was not only a patron of, but a proficient in the arts; and the bridge which he planned, and threw over the Guadalquivir, remains a lasting monument of his skill.

Beneath the second Abdalrahman, new structures supplied the wants of the citizens, and augmented the magnificence of Cordova; a perpetual supply of pure water was conducted through pipes and aqueducts into the heart of the city; and the erections of numerous moschs admonished the inhabitants where their gratitude was due for the prosperity they enjoyed. The protection of learning and the learned illustrates the reign of Alkaham the second. The university of Cordova was founded and endowed by his munificence. The birth-place of the Senecas and the Lucans asserted again its pretensions to literary fame; and might boast a library of six hundred thousand volumes, forty-four of which were employed in the mere catalogue.

A. D. 912.
961. Yet these may be considered as faint and imperfect sketches of the wealth, the power, and the magnificence of the caliphs of Spain; and the pomp and profusion of the third Abdalrahman, who reigned about a century and a half after his house was first established at Cordova, must have excited the wonder and envy of his contemporaries, and has almost surpassed the belief of posterity. His seraglio, with his wives, his concubines, and black eunuchs, amounted to six thousand three hundred persons; and he was attended to the field by a guard of twelve thousand horse, whose belts and scimitars were studded with gold. The presents that were laid at his feet by his favourite Aboumalik, when preferred to the post of grand vizir, consisted of four hundred pounds of virgin gold,

gold, ingots of silver to the value of four hundred and twenty thousand sequins, five hundred ounces of ambergris, three hundred ounces of camphire, thirty pieces of gold tissue, so rich as to be worn alone by a Caliph, ten suits of khorasan fables, and one hundred suits of less valuable fur; forty-eight sets of gold and silk trappings for horses, four thousand pounds of silk, fifteen coursers of the purest breed of Arabia, and caparisoned worthy of the master that was to mount them; a promiscuous heap of Persian carpets and coats of mail, of aloes, of shields, and lances; and the long and splendid procession was closed by forty youths, and twenty girls of exquisite beauty, whose collars and bracelets sparkled with gems of inestimable value. Yet to Abdalrahman the most precious gift of his minister was the poem which celebrated, and perhaps justly, his virtues; he listened with attention; claimed at least the praise of liberality; and rewarded the merit or artful flattery of the bard with a pension of one hundred thousand pieces of gold, or upwards of forty thousand pounds sterling.

The monarch who could thus acknowledge the influence of verse, was not likely to be insensible to the power of beauty; and Abdalrahman it must be confessed, loved, at least with magnificence. Three miles from Cordova, the city, the palace, and the gardens of Zehra, or Arizapha, were constructed in honour of, and designed to perpetuate the name of his favourite sultana. The most celebrated architect of Constantinople was invited to draw the plan; the most skilful sculptors and artists of the age were attracted by the munificence of the Caliph to execute it. The edifice was supported by near twelve hundred columns of Spanish and African, of Italian and Greek marble; the latter were the pledges of alliance and friendship from the emperor of Constantinople. The richness of the hall of audience

exceeded the bounds of credibility. The walls were incrustcd with gold and pearls; in the centre was a basin with curious and costly figures of birds and quadrupeds; above it hung a pearl of inestimable price, the tribute of the fears or gratitude of the emperor Leo. Twenty-five years, and above three millions sterling, were consumed in constructing and adorning the favourite residence. Within, and sequestered from view, were the apartments of the envied females who shared, or were reserved for the embraces of Abdalrahman. The charms of Zehra shone above the nameless multitude, and might defy the eye of malignant criticism; over the principal entrance to the palace, her statue extorted the admiration of the crowd; yet while the enraptured Moslems gazed with ardour on the symmetry of her form, their piety was wounded by the boldness of their sovereign, whose amorous passion had presumed to violate the express mandate of the prophet, which provided against the danger of idolatry by the interdiction of images. Their murmurs probably never reached the ears of Abdalrahman, who when satiated with the delights of love, or fatigued with the toils of the chase, reposed in a lofty pavilion, situated in the midst of a garden, which was adorned with a fountain replenished, not with water, but with the purest quicksilver.

In our imperfect estimation of the lot of human life, there are few who would not willingly accept the cares, with the comforts of royalty. Yet the name of Abdalrahman may be added to the list of those who from the time of Solomon to the present age, have complained that the possession of a throne could never afford any lasting satisfaction. An authentic memorial, which ought to temper the ardour of ambition, was found in the closet of the Caliph

Caliph after his decease; was transcribed, and carefully preserved, as an instructive lesson to posterity. "I have now reigned above fifty years in victory or peace; beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my enemies, and respected by my allies. Riches and honours, power and pleasure, have waited on my call, nor does any earthly blessing appear to have been wanting to my felicity; in this situation I have diligently numbered the days of pure and genuine happiness which have fallen to my lot: they amount to *fourteen*: O man! place not thy confidence in this present world."

The admonition was probably read, admired, and neglected; the successors of Mahomet seem to have forgotten the spiritual rewards that had been promised by the prophet; they disdained the abstinence and frugality of the first Caliphs, and aspired to emulate the magnificence, and condescended to indulge in the luxury of the Persian kings.

The vanity of regal splendour may exercise the fancy of the moralist, the means which supply it are the objects of the historian's enquiry. Besides the structures of private pleasure and public utility, a formidable army and regular naval establishment awed the enemies and secured the prosperity of the faithful. The master of the richest provinces of Spain reaped the harvest of a wise and equitable administration. The royal city of Cordova contained six hundred moschs, nine hundred baths, and two hundred thousand houses; eighty large cities, and three hundred of the second order confessed the authority of the Caliph; the banks of the Boetis, which under the Moors assumed the name of Guadalquivir, were embellished by twelve thousand villages; every hour presented to the traveller a new hamlet; and in the course of a day's journey he might number three or four considerable towns;

these were inhabited by an industrious race occupied in agriculture and manufactures. The soil which was ungrateful to the plough teemed with the most valuable minerals; copper, quicksilver, and iron, were exported from the ports of Spain to Barbary, Egypt, and the East. Ambergris, sulphur, saffron, ginger, and myrrh, were classed among her natural productions; the coast of Andalusia was celebrated for coral, and that of Catalonia for pearls; the rubies of Malaga and Bajar, and the amethysts of Carthagea were highly esteemed; the admirable temper of the Spanish steel recommended it to a warlike age; and the Moslems of Africa eagerly purchased their cuirasses, their helmets, and their scimitars from their brethren of Spain. The silk manufacturers of Grenada, and the woollen cloths of Murcia, were sought after with avidity, and were sold at an immense profit in the ports of Alexandria and Constantinople. The policy of the Omniades was displayed in an amicable intercourse with the Byzantine court, which they regarded as their strongest barrier against the enmity of their rivals the Abbassides, and as the most ready market for the industry of their subjects. All the havens of the Grecian dominions were open to the Spanish traders, who imported rich cargoes of merchandize adapted to the capital of opulence and luxury, and in the advantageous commerce attracted to Spain the treasures which had been accumulated by a long series of conquest. But it is probable that the chief source of the wealth of Abdalrahman was derived from the mines of gold and silver with which the country abounded; the value of these it is impossible to appreciate; but the tribute which he exacted from his people has been preserved by an Arabian historian, and amounted annually, exclusive of the imposts which were paid in kind, to twelve million nine hundred and forty-five thousand

land dinars, or near six millions sterling; a sum which, in the tenth century, most probably surpassed the united revenues of the Christian monarchs; and when the difference of the value of silver between that age and the present is computed, certainly exceeds in a six-fold proportion the revenue of modern Spain; though the neglect of her mines in Europe may have been replaced by the produce of those of America.

In the full possession of wealth and power Abdalrahman had been disappointed of happiness; but he might indulge a natural hope that his magnificence would be perpetuated in the splendour of his edifices; and that a throne which was protected by powerful armies, and opulent provinces, might long be filled by his descendents; yet the glories of Zehra have crumbled into a dust; not a trace remains to mark the spot where stood the palace erected with such a waste of treasure; and in less than fifty years from his decease, the kingdom of Cordova was dissolved, and the house of Omijah overwhelmed.

The name of his son and successor Alkaham the second, is still dear to learning; A. D. 961,
976. in the luxury of building he resembled and rivalled his father; and his foundation of the university of Cordova, and the immense library he collected, are honourable proofs of his taste and liberality; but he was not only known by the works of art; and in the exercise of virtue, and the distribution of justice, he sought, and acquired the esteem of his people. A simple story attests his character open to reproof, and paints beyond laboured pages the manners of the times. A poor woman at Zehra possessed a small spot of ground contiguous to the royal palace; the Caliph, desirous of extending his gardens, had in vain tempted her to part with the land for a sum of money; a
regard

regard for the patrimony which had been rendered sacred by the birth of her ancestors, induced her to reject every proposal; and the head gardener abused the authority of his master, and seized by force what she refused to yield for gain. The woman in an agony of despair flew to Cordova to implore the protection of Ibu Bekir, the chief cadi of the city. This magistrate immediately mounted on his ass, taking with him a sack of an extraordinary size, and presented himself before Alkaham, who was then sitting in a magnificent pavilion on the very ground in question; the arrival of the cadi, and the appearance of the wallet, surprised the prince; Bekir having prostrated himself, intreated Alkaham to allow him to fill his sack with some of the earth they were then upon. This request granted, and the sack filled, the cadi desired him to help him to lift it upon his ass. The last demand appeared still more extraordinary than the preceding; the Caliph however consented; but upon putting his shoulder to it, could not help complaining of the excessive weight of the load. "Sir," replied the cadi, "this sack, which you find so heavy, contains but a small portion of the earth which you have unjustly taken from a poor woman; how then do you expect to be able at the day of judgment to support the weight of the whole field you have had so little scruple in usurping." Far from being incensed at the bold rebuke, the Caliph generously acknowledged his fault, and ordered the land to be restored to the proprietor with every thing he had caused to be erected upon it; and the tale is an incontestable evidence, that though the generality of the conquerors of Spain had felt the influence of a luxurious and degenerate age, some still cherished the simple virtues of the primitive Moslems.

A feeble

A feeble infant of the name of Hassem was the son and successor of Alkaham; A. D. 976,
1492. but the reins of administration were intrusted to the hand of the celebrated vizir Mahomet Abenamir, who from his valour and vigilance deserved and acquired the surname of *Almanzor*, or the *Defender*. He successfully struggled against the tempest of civil and foreign commotion; and six campaigns that he successively took the field, he returned crowned with victory and covered with glory; the character of *invincible*, was wrested from him in an obstinate and bloody conflict with the Christians; and from a doubtful or disastrous field he retired to Medina Coeli; his haughty spirit allowed him not to brook disgrace; the destruction of one hundred thousand of the faithful was imbibed by the reflection that they fell by the swords of the enemies of their religion; Almanzor deplored or envied their fate, and ashamed to survive, or impatient to join them in paradise, he plunged a dagger in his bosom.

The renown of Almanzor was respected in his descendants; the office of vizir became hereditary in his family; and his sons ruled with power as absolute as that of the Caliphs; but their usurpation urged the ambition of other chiefs and emirs; the exclusive pretensions of the house of Ommijah were no longer regarded; and we may discern through the gloom of history, that the grandson of the great Abdalrahman was plunged into a dungeon by his rebellious Moslem subjects, and was released and restored to his throne by a Christian ally; the victorious Saracens in little more than two centuries run the same career as the Visigoths they had vanquished; they abused their prosperity; abandoned themselves to luxury; and exhausted in domestic dissensions that strength which might have enabled them to have resisted or to have over-

overwhelmed the common enemy. Their ancient glory was overshadowed by a long night of darkness; the limits of their dominions gradually receded; and were at length confined within the boundaries of Grenada. On that ground the Moors however still displayed the traces of that warlike spirit which had shone conspicuous in the field of Xeres; and according to the Spanish historians, near eight centuries of almost uninterrupted war elapsed, and three thousand seven hundred battles were fought, before the last of the Moorish kingdoms in Spain submitted to the Christian arms.

CHAPTER V.

The Goths maintain their independence in the Asturian mountains.—Reign and achievements of Pelagius.—Death of his son and successor Favilla.—Election of Alfonso, surnamed the Catholic.—Reign of Froila.—He regulates the Catholic church.—His victories over Abdalrahman.—His severity.—His assassination.—Succession of Aurelio, and Silo.—Usurpation of Mauregato.—Election of Bermudo.—He resigns the crown to Alfonso, the Chaste.—Glorious administration of Alfonso.—He is succeeded by his son Ramiro.—Reign of Ordogno.—Of Alfonso, surnamed the Great.—Of Garcias.—Of Ordogno the second.—Of Froila the second.—Of Alfonso the fourth.—Of Ramiro.—He wrests the city of Toledo from the Moslems.—Administration of Abdalrahman the third.—Prudence of Ramiro.—His victory over the Moors.—He is succeeded by his son Ordogno the third.—Reign of Sancho.—He is deposed.—Accession of Ordogno the fourth.—Restoration of Sancho.—He is poisoned.—Election of Ramiro the third.—Of Bermudo the second.—Of Alfonso the fifth.—Of Bermudo the third.—His death unites in his brother-in-law Ferdinand the crowns of Leon and Castille.

IN our admiration of the rapid victories of the Mahometans, the scanty remnant of Christians who still rejected their yoke are almost lost to our sight; after the disastrous field of Xeres, and the reduction of Seville and Merida, an illustrious band of fugitives cherished the

A. D. 713.
737.

the flame of liberty in the Asturian vallies. In a life of poverty and freedom their former virtues revived; their nerves were braced by the keen air of independence; in many a bloody encounter they asserted against the fanatics of Arabia their descent from the hardy warriors of the North; and in the severe school of adversity they courted and deserved the return of prosperity.

Amidst their trackless retreats the Christian Spaniards preserved with care and affection their ancient laws and customs; the noble birth, distinguished courage, and acknowledged ability of Pelagius recommended him as their leader; yet it was not until six years after the defeat of Xeres that in a national assembly of his countrymen he received the title of king; the narrow territory that he was elected to reign over was confined within the district of Liebana, and extended about nine leagues in length, and about four in breadth; but it was broken by steep and frequent mountains; and was inhabited by an undaunted race, who might justly aspire to conquer, since they feared not to die.

Descending from their craggy abodes, these iron mountainiers presumed again to try their valour in the open country; their bold incursions were planned with judgment and executed with success; and their election of Pelagius awakened the Moors from the illusion, that all resistance to their dominion in Spain was extinguished. Across the Pyrenees, amidst his career of victory, the exultations of Alahor was checked by the intelligence of their achievements; at his command, an army of the faithful was drawn from the garrisons of Seville, Toledo, and Merida; they were joined by a select detachment from the Arabian forces in Gaul; and under the command of the valiant Alahaman, and the treacherous Oppas, they directed their march
to

to the Asturian mountains to trample out the last spark of liberty.

At the head of his brave associates, fortified by the love of freedom and the contempt of death, Pelagius heard without dismay the approach of the numerous host of the invaders; he suffered them to traverse the rough and lofty mountains of Auseba, and to descend into the valley beneath. But with the eye of a general he marked that narrow spot for the scene of his own glory and their destruction. While they triumphed in the full assurance of success, they were suddenly assailed from the neighbouring heights with stones, with arrows, and with javelins. Their numbers only served to increase their confusion, and to swell the tide of slaughter; they were incapable of avoiding the ponderous fragments of rocks which were precipitated from above on their heads; an ambuscade of Christians started from the hollow caverns of the mountains; and their swords completed the bloody labour which had been begun by the missile weapons of their brethren. Oppas in chains was reserved to meet the just reward of his perfidy; Alahaman fought and obtained a soldier's death; the vale is said to have been heaped with the bodies of one hundred thousand Moslems; and though we may distrust the number, we may safely assert that where religion and revenge combined to edge the sword of the victors, the slaughter was urged with cruel diligence and without mercy. The remnant that escaped from battle traversed with fearful steps the mountain Auseba, and on the banks of the Deva halted from the pursuit of the conquerors, and hoped they had reached the term of their misfortunes; but a less glorious fate impended over them; as they attempted to pass the stream of the Deva, a neighbouring mountain was overthrown by an earthquake; the river was agitated by the concussion and swelled

swelled by the massy fragments ; the greatest part of the fugitive Moslems were overwhelmed in its waters ; the convulsion of nature in a superstitious age was attributed to the preternatural interference of providence ; and the courage of the pious Christians was confirmed by the belief that heaven warred on their side.

One defeat had not effaced in the minds of the Moslems a long series of victory and plunder ; on the intelligence of the national calamity, Mumusa, the Moorish governor of Gijon marched forth with his garrison to check the pride and chastise the temerity of the Christians. In the valley of Olalles, about three leagues below the modern city of Oviedo, his presumption was reprov'd by the martial followers of Pelagius. Two thirds of the Moors perished in the action or pursuit ; the strong town of Gijon capitulated or was reduced by force ; vanquished in two trials, the Moors tacitly relinquish'd for some time the unprofitable contest. More intent on spoil than on propagating the faith of their prophet, they turned from a wild and barren country overshadowed with woods and mountains, defended by a fearless race, whose swords and freedom were almost their sole possessions, to breathe the genial climate, and to revel in the plenty of the southern provinces of Gaul ; their success across the Pyrenees was productive of a double advantage to the independent Spainards ; it allowed them a short repose from war to establish order in their new government ; and in the abuse of prosperity and the indulgence of luxury, it relaxed the nerves and gradually softened the ferocious spirit of their enemies.

Nineteen years Pelagius sway'd with success the sceptre he had formed ; and a territory above forty leagues in length acknowledged his authority ; in that space he exercised the virtues which had

had raised him to sovereignty; his subjects were taught to revere his justice, and his neighbours to respect his valour; his end is involved in obscurity; but it is more than probable amidst a turbulent and sanguinary age, a peaceful death was the reward of his merits.

The gratitude of Spain, and of Christianity, have embalmed the memory of Pelagius, and elevated to the vacant throne his son Favilla: two years of royalty were not sufficient to display the ambiguous character of Favilla; and he is variously represented by the Spanish historians as indolent and luxurious, as active and enterprising; his subjects soon deplored or exulted in his premature fate; and as he eagerly pursued the chase in the mountains of Asturia, he was thrown to the ground, and mortally wounded by a bear before his attendants could interpose in his defence.

A. D. 737,
739.

His brother-in-law Alfonso was by the suffrages of a free people called to the succession; the surname of the *Catholic* was the tribute to his zeal for religion; and the esteem of his subjects was the reward of his valour and wisdom. New churches arose on the ruins of the moschs of the infidels, and new boundaries were prescribed to the ambition or usurpation of the Saracens. The Moslems, exhausted by domestic factions and the rival pretensions of the houses of Ommijah and Abbas, were inattentive to, or incapable of opposing his progress. He penetrated into Gallicia; reduced Lugo, which had beheld the glory and disgrace of Musa; and turning to the north, pitched his camp in the plains of Leon and Castille; the gates of Astorga, Saldagna, and Victoria, were burst open by his arms, or were unbarred by the secret inclinations of the inhabitants; he presented himself on the borders of the modern

A. D. 739,
758.

modern kingdom of Portugal, and he pursued his victorious march through *old* Castille to the range of mountains which divides it from the *new*. Yet his enterprises, though conducted with vigour, were tempered with prudence; at the conclusion of each campaign he retired within the craggy district of Asturia; his retreat was marked by devastation; he prudently interposed a wide and desert frontier between his narrow territories and the populous dominion of the Moors; but the fame of his exploits and the liberal distribution of his spoil, attracted from every quarter of Spain a crowd of bold or hungry Christians, who had long borne with indignation the yoke of the Mahometans; the latter were exhausted by famine and civil commotion; yet it was not until the evening of his reign that Alfonso ventured to quit his native fastnesses, and to rebuild the walls of, and to occupy the cities of Leon and Astorga.

A. D. 758,
768. His son Florila succeeded to his crown and his abilities in war, but he possessed not his generosity and magnanimity in peace. His disposition was stern and sanguinary; and he commanded the obedience, without deigning to conciliate the affections of his subjects. His first reform has been applauded by the writers of a monkish age; the clergy had availed themselves of the general distraction after the death of Roderic, to gratify the impulse of nature, and several had contracted themselves in marriage with the objects of their honourable passion; but the laity, who had regarded with indifference their promiscuous amours, were scandalized in their violation of the canons of the Church by the forms of a legal union. The austerity of the sovereign happily accorded with the wishes of his subjects; the authority of the Catholic Church was vindicated by Froila; and
throughout

throughout Spain, its ministers were confined to celibacy without being restored to chastity.

The victory of Abdalrahman on the banks of the Guadalquivir had established in Spain the house of the Omniades; and a prince who had triumphed over the kindred valour of the Moslems, endured not without indignation the hostile progress of the Christians; the expectation of spoil, and the promise of paradise, assembled between the Duero and Tagus a numerous host of the Saracens; they passed the confines of Portugal, and the name of Pontumo marks the spot in Galicia where they descried the ensigns of the Christians. The inferiority of numbers was supplied by the skill and valiant example of Froila; fifty-four thousand Moslems were extended lifeless on the field; their general was amongst the slain; the moment of success was improved by the address of Froila; and the city of Oviedo, which he destined for his new capital, was, with the spoils of the vanquished, erected at a small distance from Gijon, on the banks of the Aste, which is formed from the confluence of the waters of the Ova and Deva.

A second attempt of Abdalrahman to retrieve his honour, served only to augment his disgrace; another army of the Moslems was lost in the mountainous districts of old Castille; and the Caliph in an honourable truce confessed his dread of his Christian adversary. But Froila was not less the terror of his enemies than of his subjects. In the last invasion of Abdalrahman, the natives of Galicia had neglected or refused to join the standard of their sovereign; and no sooner had he concluded peace with the Saracens, than at the head of an obedient army he entered Galicia, and by the execution of the most illustrious or most rebellious of the inhabitants, taught them to dread the resentment of an offended monarch. The neighbouring provinces

provinces beheld with dismay and discontent the tremendous example; the guilt and danger of disobedience were forgotten in the excess of the punishment; and Froila, who had never possessed the love, was now exposed to the hatred of his people; his mind was probably irritated by the ingratitude of the multitude and consciousness of his services; and his brother, except himself the only legitimate son of Alfonso, was the victim of his jealousy. Bimarano inherited, or was supposed to inherit, the popular qualities of his father; the esteem of his countrymen was the signal for his death; and in a perfidious conference he was stabbed by the hand of Froila. The safety of the tyrant, for such is the name that he hereafter deserves, was undermined by his own crime; his nobles repressed their abhorrence of his unnatural deed; and patiently waited for the moment of retaliation. The dagger of an assassin was whetted against the life of Froila; and he fell without being lamented by the people whom he had defended.

A. D. 768. The feeble claims of an infant son, the
770. only fruits of the marriage of Froila with his beautiful captive Monina, were lost in the detestation of the father, or were deferred from the debility of his years; and Alfonso, who afterwards arose the father and the glory of his country, was set aside for Aurelio, the cousin of, and probably one of the conspirators against the late king; a confederacy of the Moorish slaves to avenge their sufferings in the blood of their Christian masters, but which was early detected and quelled, marks alone the reign of Aurelio; his brother Bermudo had entered into the pale of the church, and seemed precluded from the cares and comforts of royalty; and Aurelio, destitute of offspring, sought a successor amongst the most illustrious nobles of his court. The address or virtues of Silo secured him the

the preference; he received the hand of Adofinda the kinswoman of his sovereign; was intrusted with a considerable share in the administration; and on the death of Aurelio, was declared his successor by the suffrages of the nobility and with the approbation of the people.

The judgment of Aurelio was approved in the measures of Silo; during a reign of nine years an obscure rebellion in Galicia alone interrupted the public tranquillity. The new monarch promoted with ability the happiness of his people, and watched with honourable care over the education of the youthful Alfonso. On his death that prince was, with the consent of several of the nobility, and under the protection of the dowager queen Adofinda, declared king; but the sceptre was ravished from his hand by a mature and unexpected competitor.

The piety of Alfonso the Catholic, had not fortified him against the frailty of human nature; a Moorish captive had shared his embraces; and the issue of their illicit intercourse had obtained from the mother the name of Mauregato. In the humble condition of a subject, he remembered the rank of his father; and his ambition suggested to him the means of ascending to the same station. He was not ignorant of the secret dread lest Alfonso should inherit the austerity of Froila; he improved the fears of the multitude by dark and subtle rumours; and at length openly assumed the crown. It is probable Alfonso in a field of battle might have substantiated his previous election; but a civil war might have proved fatal to the infant strength of the Christians; and the son of Froila proved himself worthy of a throne by refusing to hazard his country's welfare in the defence of it. He retired to his patrimonial estate in Biscay; that popularity

larity which had been denied him in the palace, accompanied him to his retreat; and whatever might be the secret wishes of Mauregato, he engaged to respect, and he feared to violate the safety of his magnanimous rival; but he disgraced by weakness the crown he had obtained by perfidy; to support his title he introduced into his dominions the enemies of his country and his religion; an army of Moors awed the rising discontents of his subjects; but while they protected him from the indignation of the Christians, they held him in dependence on the will of the Moslems. The invidious tale of his furnishing to the seraglio of the Caliph the annual tribute of an hundred virgins, has been rejected by the most impartial critics; yet it is certain he was exposed both to the suspicion and hatred of his people; and his death, after an unpopular reign of six years, was considered as a national deliverance.

A. D. 788,
791.

On his decease, it might naturally have been expected that the former forbearance of Alfonso would have united in his favour the voice of the nation; yet we read with surprise, that Bermudo the brother of Aurelio was drawn from the cloister to exchange his cowl for a crown. The election of Bermudo cannot be suspected of intrigue; and the goodness of his heart was evinced in the first measure of his reign; he sent for Alfonso, introduced him into his counsels, and as soon as the public prejudice was subsided, intrusted him with the principal military command. The ambition or fanaticism of the Moors had again impelled them to invade the Christian territories; and Bermudo, accompanied by Alfonso, marched to oppose the infidel host. Buraba, a small town in the neighbourhood of Burgos, was the scene of their bloody encounter; and the stream of the river Aranzon was purpled with the blood of the combatants. The Moors were broken and defeated; and

and amidst the tumult of the day the valour of Alfonso was conspicuous above that of his countrymen. The generous Bermudo seized the moment of admiration and gratitude; he resigned the crown; and Alfonso the second, who from the purity of his life and manners was surnamed the *Chaste*, was elected in his place.

The grateful affection of Alfonso suffered not Bermudo to escape to retirement; though he had resigned the title, he was still regarded by his successor as a king, and lodged with every mark of respect in the palace. But while Alfonso divided the honours, he supported alone the cares of sovereignty. Galicia was deluged by a second inundation of the Moslems, and their destructive progress claimed the presence of the new monarch. He marched at the head of the companions of his former victory; and near Lodos attacked the infidels, who by their own temerity or the treachery of their guides, had been betrayed into a morass. Sixty thousand of the Moslems were either slaughtered by the Christians or lost in the bog. The domestic dissensions of the Moors suspended for a short time their hostile enterprises; and Alfonso neglected not to avail himself of the favourable opportunity; he repaired the walls, and re-peopled the city of Braga on the banks of the Cavado; he penetrated in arms through the heart of Portugal to the mouth of the Tagus; he reduced the city of Lisbon, whose ancient name of Olisippo, was in an age of fable supposed to have been derived from Ulysses; and with the spoil he enriched the new citizens of Braga.

A. D. 791,
845.

The advantages which Alfonso had gained in arms, he endeavoured to preserve by negotiation; Charlemagne, the potent emperor of the West, had during the dissensions of the Moors, been invited into Spain by a powerful emir of the name of Iblanala, and who appears to have abused the independ-

dent authority he had exercised over the city of Saragossa. Driven thence by the general indignation of the inhabitants, in the diet of Paderborn he implored the assistance of Charlemagne; the influence of the exiled Arabian was re-established by the arms of the Christian monarch, who carried by assault Pampeluna, traversed the Ebro, and successfully invested the city of Saragossa. The rebellious followers of Christ and Mahomet were impartially crushed by the protector of insulted sovereignty; but in the fidelity of an ally, Charlemagne neglected not his own aggrandisement; he occupied in his own name the countries he penetrated through; and the *march* of Spain which he instituted, extended from the river Ebro beyond the Pyrenees, and included the country of Roussillon. Barcelona was the residence of a French governor, whose jurisdiction was confessed through the province of Catalonia, and the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon. But in his retreat the rear-guard of Charlemagne was exposed to disgrace and loss; and it is this action which has been so much celebrated in romance for the death of the famous Roland.

The situation and religious communion of Charlemagne pointed him out to Alfonso as his natural ally. In a splendid embassy the king of Oviedo sought and obtained the friendship of the powerful emperor of the West; the Moors dreaded, and were cautious of provoking the resentment of the latter; but they still hoped to overwhelm the former. A new host of infidels laid waste the country round Burgos, and pursued their disorderly march through the mountainous district of Biscay; as they advanced incumbered with spoil, and careless of discipline, they were attacked and cut to pieces by Alfonso. So many illustrious exploits ought to have rendered the king of Oviedo the idol of his subjects; yet it is with astonishment we find that in the moment of victory he was seized, dethroned, and imprisoned,

by

by a formidable faction; the whole transaction is involved in obscurity; but if we may credit the Spanish historians, the army which he led against the Moors, was composed chiefly of malecontents, who remembered the severity of Froila, and waited to avenge it on his son; they betrayed the confidence that had been reposed in them; suddenly surrounded his tent, and though they violated the dignity, they respected the life, of Alfonso; the monastery of Abalia became his prison; but his disgrace was of short duration; the ingratitude he had experienced was resented by the majority of his people; the name of Theudes is preserved as the illustrious chief who first animated the multitude to arm in defence of their injured sovereign; the rebels were compelled to yield to the torrent of loyalty; and from Abalia Alfonso was conducted in triumph to Oviedo. By his clemency he extinguished the embers of faction; and the conspirators who were pardoned by his magnanimity, ever afterwards served him with zeal and fidelity.

In three successive actions the renown of Alfonso was confirmed, and the superiority of the Christians established over the infidels; but on a throne the son of Froila, was not suffered to taste repose; and the perfidy of a Moorish chief whom he had protected against Abdalrahman the second, and intrusted with the defence of the frontiers of Galicia, summoned him again to arms; Mahomet, for such was the name of the traitor, to purchase the pardon of the court of Cordova, consented to betray his trust; and Galicia was suddenly desolated by the Moslems; the aged limbs of Alfonso were once more clothed in steel; and at Lugo the adversaries of his faith and country were taught that years, though they had impaired his strength, had not chilled his ardour; the field was strewed with fifty thousand lifeless infidels; and the head of the perfidious Mahomet was presented to the victor.

The

The last moments of the reign of Alfonso were gilded by victory; but his infirmities warned him of his approaching end; a disposition naturally serious might, between the cares of royalty and the grave, wish to employ some short interval in pious meditation; the king of Oviedo might be desirous of placing his glory beyond the reach of fortune, or of committing the protection of his subjects to a more vigorous arm. In the choice of a successor he is asserted to have been influenced by the power and splendid reputation of Charlemagne; and it has been supposed that he only yielded to the unwillingness of his subjects to exclude from the throne the house of Pelagius; the idea which has been hastily adopted and adorned by the lively pen of the Abbé Vertot, is effaced by a reference to the dates of the most accurate historians; the emperor of the West had expired near thirty years before the king of Oviedo abdicated the throne; the ties of gratitude and consanguinity more powerfully pleaded for Ramiro the eldest son of Bermudo; the young prince had already signalized his valour in the victory of Lugo; and to his hand, with the approbation of his people, Alfonso resigned the sceptre of Oviedo. Fifty years of foreign war and domestic commotion were succeeded by four of private tranquillity; divested of the authority, he still displayed the magnificence of a monarch; the numerous churches he erected were the monuments of his piety; and in the seventy-eighth year of his age, he breathed his last amidst the lamentations of his subjects.

His death exposed his kingdom again to the storms of civil discord; the absence of

A. D. 845,
851.

Ramiro on the frontiers of Navarre, encouraged the presumption of Nepotian, whose birth or situation is marked by the title of count; at the head of a powerful army he advanced towards Biscay, and compelled the new monarch to vindicate his

his title in arms; but before the encounter, the minds of the followers of Nepotian were vanquished by fear or remorse; they delivered their leader in chains to their king; his life was spared; but he was deprived of his eye-sight, and he was confined ever after within the walls of a monastery.

The administration of Ramiro was short, stormy, but glorious; a second rebel, whose rank of count of the palace reveals his ingratitude, succeeded to the hopes, and shared the fate of Nepotian. A daring race of adventurers descending from the snowy mountains of Norway, explored every shore that promised spoil or settlement; their vessels were mobred in the haven of Corunna; and their predatory incursions commanded the presence of the king himself; the northern pirates were routed with considerable slaughter; part of their fleet was destroyed; and for some time the kindred squadrons of Norway shunned the inauspicious coast. The second Abdalrahman proved a more formidable adversary; and in Asturia the number of Moslems who at his command overshadowed the land, were compared to a cloud of locusts. Yet the long array was broken by the martial Christians; and the valour of Ordogno the son of Ramiro, proved him worthy of the crown of Oviedo; in a second invasion Abdalrahman might deplore the degeneracy of the Moslems, or the rising virtue of the Christians; and the plains of Clavigo were fertilized with the blood of the infidels. It was on this occasion that St. James, the patron of Spain, mounted on a milk-white steed, was supposed to have animated by his presence the warriors of Christ; his assistance was repaid by the endowment of the church of Compostella; and long after the Spaniards complained that the yoke of the infidels could not have been more heavy than the tribute of gratitude which had been imposed in the name of the saint.

After

A. D. 851.
862. After a turbulent reign of six years, Ramiro was dismissed to the grave; and the sceptre of Oviedo dropped into the hands of his son Ordogno, who from the victory over the Moors, had been associated with his father in the toils of government. Yet the first moments of accession were disturbed by the revolt of the natives of Biscay; and he had scarce quelled by his vigour the insurgents, before he was informed that the forces of the Caliph had penetrated into the heart of his dominions. His march was conducted with secrecy and celerity; and before the infidels had intelligence of his approach, they were astonished by his presence in their camp; the remnant that escaped the sword, consulted their safety in a precipitate retreat; their intestine dissensions suspended for some time their hostile incursions; and the rage of the contending factions was fomented by the policy of Ordogno, who beheld and rejoiced in their mutual destruction.

The prosperity of his people was the best reward of his address; yet Ordogno was not exempted from the murmurs of his subjects; the bishop of Compostella had been accused of a crime as degrading to nature, as offensive to religion; in the manly abhorrence of Ordogno, he forgot that the accusers of the prelate were his slaves, who might be influenced by private resentment; he commanded the bishop instantly to be exposed in the circus to a wild bull; but the furious beast instead of destroying, gently approached the holy culprit; an event that might be derived from a thousand causes, and which probably was the effect of the natural ascendancy of man over the brute creation, was in a superstitious age improved into a miracle; the bishop was however content to elude his danger; and to conceal his shame, or cherish his indignation in an hermitage; and he was followed to his cell by the acclamations of the unthinking crowd,

crowd, whose reproaches accused the justice of their sovereign.

The angry clamours of the multitude at the sentence of Ordogno, may serve to display the superstitious veneration of the age for the ministers of the church; but they were soon drowned in the loud applause which was extorted by the martial achievements of the king of Oviedo. The Moors again invaded his dominions, and their temerity was again chastised by the aged arm of the royal warrior. Near Albaga, Muza, who with the title of emir, ruled with independent authority over the district of Saragossa, was defeated with the loss of ten thousand Moslems; his son-in-law was amongst the slain; and Muza himself escaped with difficulty the chains of the victors to expire of his wounds in his capital. The Normans whose incursions had again violated the tranquillity of Galicia, were repulsed, and compelled to seek shelter in their ships; and the infidels, after a second irruption into Asturia, were obliged to retire with disgrace; a formidable fleet that had been assembled by the Caliph for the conquest of Portugal, was dispersed by tempests, or destroyed by the squadrons of Oviedo. Animated by victory, Ordogno aspired beyond the glory of a defensive war; and he besieged and wrested from the caliph Mahomet the important cities of Salamanca and Coria. The difficulty of preserving any acquisitions beyond the stream of the Duero, probably influenced Ordogno to abandon his new conquests; the walls were dismantled; the Mahometan inhabitants were swept away into slavery; and their spoils enriched the capital of Oviedo.

The victorious career of Ordogno was checked by the increasing infirmities of age, and it was the natural desire of the father to transmit to his son the sceptre which he himself had wielded with so much vigour and success. In a national council the
wishes

wishes of Ordogno were gratified; Alfonso was associated with him in the royal dignity; and soon after, in the full possession of the admiration and esteem of his subjects, the veteran monarch breathed his last.

Alfonso the third, who from his exploits deserved and obtained the surname of *Great*, was in his eighteenth year when he ascended the throne of his father; but the dawn of his future glory was overcast by the clouds of domestic commotion; he had scarce received in his capital the oath of allegiance from his subjects, before he was astonished by the approach of a formidable army, conducted by Froila, who had been intrusted with the government of Galicia; and whose ambition aspired to the crown. Incapable of resisting the presumptuous rebel, Alfonso quitted Oviedo, and retired into the mountains of Castille; he was accompanied in his retreat by the most illustrious of the nobles, who acknowledged in their attachment to the son, the services and friendship of the father; the success of the usurper had been rapid, but his authority was transient; he was incapable of sustaining with moderation the favour of fortune; and in the abuse of his power, he quickly degenerated into a tyrant. His arrogance offended those who had contributed to his elevation; his cruel jealousy was dreaded by the party who secretly repined at his grandeur; obnoxious to all, he was soon the victim of his temerity; a conspiracy was silently formed against him; and he was assassinated in the palace that he had so lately seized.

The fate of the tyrant was rapidly conveyed to the mountains of Castille; Alfonso quitted his retreat, and entered Oviedo amidst the acclamations of his subjects; even the troops which had promoted the usurpation of Froila, joined in the general joy. A prudent amnesty quieted their fears, but might encourage the presumption of other pretenders;

tenders ; and the revolt of the counts of Alava, claimed the presence of the new monarch in the province of Biscay ; the rebels, astonished by his celerity, deprecated his wrath by submission ; but no sooner had he pointed again his march towards Oviedo, than they derided and violated their engagements, and again assembled in arms ; without hesitation Alfonso turned his face once more towards Alava ; the revolt was crushed by his vigour ; but the traitors could no longer hope for mercy ; and the natural disposition of Alfonso yielded to the claims of justice and the resentment of an injured sovereign.

It was on his own subjects that the first trophies of Alfonso were erected ; but the more splendid and acceptable monuments of his fame were founded on his victories over the enemies of his faith and country. In the nuptial bed he had scarce tasted the charms of the fair but turbulent Ximéné, before he was summoned to the field ; and the surname of *Great* was earned in near thirty laborious but prosperous campaigns. Two Mahometan armies which had endeavoured to penetrate into his dominions by the opposite routes of Leon and Galicia, were successively encountered and defeated ; the victor passed in arms the Duero ; overthrew, and restored the walls of Coimbra ; re-peopled the cities of Braga and Porto ; repaired those of Lamego and Viseo, and occupied the district of modern Portugal between the Minho and the Duero. Yet in extending his dominions he was exposed to fierce and frequent conflicts ; and it was not until the pride of the king of Cordova had been humbled by repeated defeats, and his son Almanzor had been obliged to retreat before a Christian hero, that he consented to subscribe an honourable truce for six years, which confirmed to Alfonso the districts he had conquered.

While

While Alfonso was feared and admired abroad, his throne was assailed, and his authority resisted at home. Three successive rebellions in Galicia are distinguished by the names of their leaders, Ano, Hermegild, and Witiza; the motives of revolt are concealed from our view; but the punishments of the rebels are recorded; the estate of the first was confiscated; the second atoned with his life for his treason; and the third was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Yet clemency and severity seemed to produce the same effects; the reign of Alfonso was destined to incessant warfare; and one rebellion was scarce extinguished before another broke out.

In Castille a second Froila aspired to seize the crown of Oviedo; his extraction was probably illustrious; but the supposition of Mariana, that he was a son of Ordogno, is destroyed by the evidence of a contemporary historian, who asserts Alfonso to have been the only issue of that monarch. His three brothers, Nugnez, Odoair, and Veremond, were impelled by affection or seduced by ambition to share his hopes and danger; but their counsels were betrayed; and before they could assemble a sufficient army to maintain their pretensions in the field, they were alarmed by a summons to appear before their sovereign. Their flight proclaimed their guilt; they were pursued, overtaken, and brought back in chains; and the loss of their eyes was the consequence of their presumption.

After an year of darkness and confinement, the chains of the blind Veremond were unlocked by a friendly hand; and from his dungeon of Oviedo he escaped to the strong city of Astorga. His flight revived the drooping spirits of his faction; and the walls of Astorga were defended against Alfonso by a numerous and desperate party; the cause of Veremond was supported by the king of Cordova; who

who strove to extend the flames of civil commotion, and retorted on the Christians the arts which they had practised on the Moslems; a Moorish army marched to the relief of Astorga; they were joined by the garrison; and in the plains which are fertilized by the river Ezla, the rebels with their infidel allies hazarded, and were vanquished in a decisive engagement; part fell by the sword; part perished in the waters of the Ezla; but amidst the tumult of defeat, the life and liberty of Veremond was preserved by the care of his attendants; from the field he was conveyed to the Moorish dominions; and found an asylum in the policy or generosity of the caliph Abdallah.

A new truce between the Christians and Moslems was soon succeeded by war; and the banks of the Duero, in the neighbourhood of Zamora, were distinguished by the last victory which Alfonso achieved as a king. In every foreign or domestic contest that monarch had resisted or vanquished his enemies; and during a long and tempestuous reign his labours had been cheered by the remembrance of former exploits, and the hopes of future success. But his declining years were exposed to a struggle which even conquest could not reconcile; the magnificence of his buildings and the length of his wars had compelled him to impose new taxes on his subjects; and an ungrateful and inconsiderate people murmured at the expences which had contributed to their splendour and security. Their discontents were secretly inflamed by Garcias, the eldest son of the king, whose impatient and rebellious hand grasped at a sceptre, which in a short time must have descended to him without guilt; the confederacy was swelled by Ximené, who repined in the arms of an old and infirm husband. But the unnatural design of Garcias had not entirely eluded the observation of Alfonso; the prince was seized and strictly confined; and Ximené, after having in vain solicited

solicited his release, prepared to obtain it by force. She was supported by Nuguez Fernandez, one of the most powerful nobles of Castille; and a civil war was kindled throughout the kingdom. The prudence of Alfonso taught him to prevent or terminate a contest which must have been fatal to his house, and destructive to his people; he disdained to reign by force; he abhorred the effusion of Christian blood; and in a national council at Oviedo he declared his intention to resign the crown to his son; more truly great in the moment of his abdication than in the meridian blaze of prosperity, he retired from the palace; even the stubborn spirit of Garcias was vanquished by his generosity; and in the possession of the throne, he displayed that duty and reverence for his father, which he had despised or neglected in the condition of a subject.

A. D. 910.
913. The Moors were soon taught that notwithstanding the abdication of Alfonso, the same counsels prevailed at Oviedo. Garcias penetrated into the heart of Castille, defeated an army of the infidels, and made their general prisoner. In a second incursion the vanguard was led by Alfonso himself; and the Christians and Mahometans beheld with mutual astonishment a son trust the father whom he had dethroned, and a father serve the son by whom he had been betrayed. The country beyond the Duero was swept by their united arms; the cities of Meda, Corunna, Osona, and Coira, on the banks of that river rose from their ruins and were strengthened by new fortifications; but the royal veteran was incapable of sustaining the fatigue of this last expedition; and on his return within the walls of Zamora, death closed the long and glorious toils of Alfonso the Great.

Bold and enterprising in the field, Garcias was the terror of his enemies; but stern and inexorable in the capital, he never acquired the affections of his subjects; they applauded his valour, but they dreaded

dreaded his severity; and his premature death after a short reign of three years, was received with indifference or exultation.

The vacant throne was filled by his brother Ordogno the second, who had ad- A. D. 913,
923. ministered with independence the province of Gallicia during the life of Garcias. He inherited the active valour of his father; and the town of Talavera, and the castle of Alhanges are distinguished by two successive victories over the Moors; the pride of Abdalrahman the last and greatest caliph of that name, was wounded by the rapid success of Ordogno; the ardour of the Moslems was rekindled by the hope of plunder, and the promise of paradise; some partial succour was drawn from their brethren of Africa; and a kindred host of eighty thousand Mahometans devoured the fertile country along the banks of the Duero. The Christian banners summoned them from the indulgence of rapine, to the trial of valour. After an obstinate and bloody struggle their ranks were transpierced, and their arrogance confounded by the hardy warriors of Asturia; the multitude was dispersed; their leaders slain; and their rich armour, their belts enchased with gold, were the rewards of the victors. Leon witnessed the triumph, and more than shared the protection of her sovereign; that city was established by Ordogno as his capital, and the title of king of Oviedo, was lost in that of Leon.

Yet prosperity gilded not invariably the administration of Ordogno, and he was soon after reminded of the vicissitudes of fortune; the Spanish march which had been instituted by Charlemagne, had been dissolved in the weakness of his successors; and about fourscore years after his death, the governors of Charles the Simple revolted from his authority, with the title of count confounded that of king, and asserted their independence over their separate districts. The king of Navarre oppressed by the

the superior numbers of the Moslems solicited the assistance of his nephew Ordogno; and policy or the ties of blood induced the latter to march with a powerful army to the succour of his kinsman and ally. In the valley of Junquera their combined forces attacked the infidel host; but the event of the day was unfavourable to the Christians; the confederates were defeated; with the remnant of his followers Ordogno regained with difficulty his capital of Leon; but the Moors neglected to improve their advantage; and wasted in a fruitless incursion into Gaul the strength that might have restored their ascendancy in Spain.

Some desultory and successful enterprises restored the spirits of the Christians; but the glory of the reign of Ordogno was past; and his last days were stained with cruelty and clouded by domestic uneasiness. The influence and power of the counts of Castille provoked his jealousy; they were summoned to appear before their sovereign; the royal faith was violated by their detention; the forms of justice were disregarded in their execution; and the rumour of conspiracy and rebellion, which was artfully propagated, could not conceal the unworthy fears and bloody injustice of the king of Leon.

The widowed hand of Ordogno had been bestowed on Argonta, who was descended from one of the most illustrious families of Galicia; but Argonta had scarce excited the envy of her fair companions, before she was entitled to their compassion. A malicious tale was fabricated against her virtue, was communicated to Ordogno, and readily believed; she was repudiated with contempt by a jealous husband who lived long enough to repent his credulity; but Argonta devoted the remainder of her days to devotion; and Ordogno endeavoured to forget her charms in the nuptial bed of Santua, the daughter of the king of Navarre. He had scarce returned
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with his bride to his capital of Leon before he was surprised by death; the pretensions of his sons Alfonso and Ramiro, the issue of his first marriage, were supplanted by the intrigues of their uncle; and Froila the second, in a national council, was declared king of Leon and Oviedo.

The third son of Alfonso the Great was unworthy of the blood he sprung from. A. D. 923,
924 He received the sacred trust of royalty only to abuse it; and the first months of his reign were stained by the murder of the nobles who had opposed his election; but his cruelty was arrested by disease; a tyranny of an year was terminated by a leprosy; on his death the claims of primogeniture were respected; and his nephew Alfonso was declared his successor.

Alfonso, the fourth of that name, had scarce received, before he found himself A. D. 924
928. incapable of sustaining the weight of a crown. His aversion to the cares of government was increased by the death of his consort Urraca, whom he appears to have tenderly loved; and in less than an year after his election he resigned the sceptre of Leon to his brother Ramiro the second. In a private station Alfonso might have enjoyed that happiness which he had never tasted on a throne. But his easy disposition rendered him the instrument of the ambition of others; and while Ramiro assembled his forces at Zamora to march early in the spring against the Moors, he was astonished by the intelligence that Alfonso had quitted his retreat, had re-assumed the ensigns of royalty, and had occupied once more the city and palace of Leon. The siege of Leon was instantly formed by Ramiro, at the head of the army with which he had proposed to attack the infidels; the defence of Alfonso was obstinate: and in the vain attempt to regain the crown, he displayed a vigour which would have

maintained him in the quiet possession of it. Famine at length compelled him to implore the mercy of his brother; a general pardon was granted to his adherents; but his own confinement was strict; and with his victorious troops Ramiro advanced into the Asturias to reduce by arms the three sons of Froila the second, who had also erected the standard of revolt. His superior genius or fortune again prevailed; but this second rebellion seems to have exasperated the spirit of Ramiro; his brother and cousins were involved in the same fate, and the loss of their eyes was the punishment of their presumption. Yet in a state of darkness they were still treated with respect; the humanity of the victor was exerted to alleviate the misery of kinsmen who were no longer formidable; and when Alfonso the fourth, who from his misfortunes and devotion was surnamed the *Blind* and the *Monk* expired, his remains were honoured with a royal funeral.

No sooner were the flames of civil discord extinguished, than those of foreign war were kindled. The martial exploits of Ramiro rivalled those of the most illustrious of his predecessors; he passed the Duero; attacked and carried by assault Madrid, the present capital of the Spanish monarchy, and insulted by his presence Toledo, the strongest city of the caliphs of Spain. In the plains of Osma the Moors aspired to retrieve their glory and they augmented their disgrace; they were defeated after a bloody struggle by Ramiro; and Ahaga the Moorish chieftain of Arragon was compelled to acknowledge himself the vassal of the king of León.

Yet during the glorious career of Ramiro, the sceptre of Cordova was held by no feeble hand; and the pride of the third Abdalrahman stimulated him to exertions worthy of the ancient power and renown of the Mahometans. From the mouth
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of the Guadalquivir to the source of the Tagus, the descendants of the tribes of Arabia obeyed the summons of the successor of the prophet; one hundred and fifty thousand Moslems were united by their zeal for religion, or their thirst of plunder; the natives of Grenada were distinguished from the crowd; and in the dexterous management of their couriers asserted their origin from the horsemen of Syria and Irak; they overturned in their course the Christian town of Solocuvás, trampled the harvest of old Castille, desolated the flourishing banks of the Duero, and pitched their camp where that river is swelled by the waters of the Pisuerga. It was there they awaited or were checked by the appearance of the Christian army; the plains of Simancas afforded a wide theatre to the skill and rage of the combatants; the battle was obstinately disputed through a long summer's day; and it was not until the close of evening that victory declared for Ramiro; the pursuit was continued by the indefatigable monarch, though the darkness of the night, and eighty thousand Moslems are reported to have fallen by the sword, or to have been precipitated into the waters of the Duero and the Pisuerga. So complete and bloody an overthrow Ramiro might have expected would have broken for years the spirit of the Moors; yet the remnant of their forces again united, and was swelled by fresh detachments; and it was not until he had gained a new victory in the neighbourhood of Salamanca, that the king of Leon entered his capital in triumph.

The increase of taxes is the ungrateful, but too often the indispensable duty of the sovereign; nor ought the subject to complain as long as the revenue or service that is exacted, is strictly applied to, or exceeds not the necessity of the state; the conquests of Ramiro had been extended to the mountains that separate old and new Castille; and an heavy ex-

pence had been incurred in restoring the towns on the Duero, and erecting a strong barrier against the Moors; the counts of Castille, whose influence rose above that of subjects, and whose station was below that of princes, had long secretly aspired to independence; they murmured at the command of Ramiro to repair the fortifications of Osma and Clunia, which had been overthrown by the Moslems; they murmured, but they obeyed; and it was not until they were summoned to join the royal standard against the infidels, that they presumed openly to reject the authority of the king of Leon. The prompt and vigorous spirit of Ramiro was equal to every event; he abandoned the hopes of foreign conquest to extinguish the flames of civil commotion; and with an obedient and well-disciplined army he suddenly presented himself in Castille; he dissipated the hostile league, seized the persons of the counts Ferdinand Gonzalez, and Diego Nugnez, the most formidable of the confederates, and conveyed them prisoners to Leon. A less prudent prince might have instantly sacrificed them to his insulted authority; but Ramiro was more jealous of the happiness of his people than of the dignity of his crown; he condescended to remonstrate with his noble captives; he urged that it was alone by union that the Christians in Spain could hope to avert the yoke of Mahomet, or aspire to expel the infidel invaders; Gonzalez and Nugnez at least affected to be convinced; they were restored to freedom; and the ties of public were drawn more close by those of private connexion, in the marriage of Ordogno the son of Ramiro, with Urraca the daughter of Gonzalez.

With the return of unanimity the king of Leon resumed the martial preparations he had suspended. At the head of a numerous army he passed the mountains

tains of Avila, and near the walls of Talavera he defied the Moorish banners. The conflict was fierce and obstinate; the waters of the Tagus were purpled with the blood of the combatants; and it was not until Ramiro had repeatedly charged his adversaries in person, that he could claim the victory; twelve thousand of the Moors were extended lifeless on the plain; the fertile fields of new Castille were desolated by the Christians; and with an immense booty Ramiro slowly directed his march towards Leon; he was permitted to enjoy but a short time the acclamations of his subjects; he was seized with a mortal disease, and convinced that his end approached, he was desirous before his death of fixing the crown on the head of his son. In a national council the resignation of Ramiro was accepted, and the election of Ordogno unanimously approved; and a few days afterwards, amidst the general lamentations of his people, he closed a glorious reign of near twenty years.

The elevation of Ordogno the third had been promoted by the wishes and renown of his father; but in the possession of a throne, his subjects were compelled to acknowledge he deserved it; and though his virtues could not always secure their fidelity, they invariably extorted their admiration. During a short but active reign of five years and an half, he resisted the combinations of his domestic foes, and vanquished the foreign enemies of his country. A civil war was kindled immediately on his accession by the ambition of his brother Sancho, whose pretensions were supported by his uncle the king of Navarre; and Ordogno beheld with surprise and indignation his own father-in-law Gonzalez march among the associates of his rival. The confederates were disconcerted by the bold attitude of Ordogno; his dominions were protected

A. D. 952
957.

ted by a chain of posts occupied with judgment and maintained with firmness; his adversaries were awed by his genius, and retired; their disappointment was productive of mutual reproaches; and their discontents soon dissolved the unnatural confederacy.

The ascendancy of Ordogno was established by his safe and bloodless victory, but the mind that was superior to danger was not insensible to resentment. He divorced with contempt the daughter of Goncalez, and raised to his bed Elvira, who was descended from one of the most noble families of Galicia. The arrogance of the kindred of the queen provoked a new insurrection; and when Ordogno prepared to march against the Moors, he was mortified by the intelligence that the inhabitants of Galicia were in arms; with a select body of troops he halted on the frontiers of that province; and his offer of a general pardon, and his promise to redress their grievances, reclaimed the malecontents to their allegiance; they ranged themselves under his standard; strengthened by the junction of their forces, he advanced through Portugal without encountering an enemy; and Lisbon was a second time assaulted and plundered by a Christian army; in his return he penetrated into Castille, accepted the submission of Goncalez; and when the territories of that chief were invaded by the Moors, their deliverance was achieved by the arm of Ordogno.

His career of glory was arrested by a
 A. D. 957, fever, and he expired after a short illness
 967. at Zamora; a feeble infant by his last marriage was incapable of stemming the unpopularity of his mother, and the ambition of his uncle; and in a national assembly Sancho was preferred to the throne of Leon. The new monarch, who had attempted to wrest the sceptre from his brother, was
 incapable

incapable of retaining it when legally committed to his hand. His health was oppressed by a dropsy; his authority was shaken by the intrigues of the turbulent Gonzalez; he sought a retreat in the court of his uncle the king of Navarre; and the crown of Leon was placed by the hand of Gonzalez on the head of Ordogno the fourth.

The virtues of three monarchs had endeared the name of Ordogno to the Christians, but it was disgraced by an usurper to whom was justly applied the epithet of *wicked*. He was the nephew of Ramiro the second, and the son of the unfortunate Alfonso the Blind; but he neither inherited the genius of his uncle nor the mild virtues of his father; he received the hand of the repudiated Urraca from Gonzalez, who twice beheld his daughter seated on the throne of Leon, and who hoped from the gratitude of his son-in-law to erect his own extensive demesnes into an independent principality; but the project was blasted by the vices and cruelty of Ordogno. The health of Sancho had been restored by tranquillity or by the skill of the Arabian physicians, who revived in Europe the science of medicine; to consult them he had visited the court of Cordova; and it was there that he was informed of the tyranny of Ordogno and the disaffection of his subjects; his cause was espoused by the generosity or policy of the caliph Abdalrahman, and was supported by the kindred bands of the king of Navarre. The confederate armies of Moslems and Christians advanced to the frontiers of Leon; the gates of the cities were thrown open on their approach; from the execrations of his people Ordogno sought refuge with the Moorish chief of Arragon; the more intrepid spirit of Gonzalez impelled him to try the chance of battle; he was vanquished and taken prisoner in the plains of Aronia; his defeat extinguish-

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ed the hopes of his faction ; and Sancho re-ascended the throne of Leon.

In the school of adversity Sancho had learned to distrust the smiles of fortune ; and it was by generosity instead of terror that he endeavoured to disarm his enemies. He prevailed on the King of Navarre to release the count of Castille ; and from the obscure records of the times, we may conjecture that he strove to secure the future friendship of Goncalvez, by renouncing all claims of homage ; gratitude might restrain him from invading the dominions of Abdalrahman ; but he repulsed with cruel slaughter the Normans, whose piratical descents had afflicted the coasts of Galicia. His satisfaction was interrupted by the intelligence that an officer whom he had intrusted with an important command on the frontiers of Portugal, had revolted ; he marched against the rebel, defeated, pardoned, and received him into favour. But he was the victim of his own magnanimity ; and a poisoned apple which he received from the ungrateful traitor, was attended by his immediate death.

Surrounded by active and powerful enemies, the Christians of Oviedo and Leon had in the choice of a sovereign sought the qualities of experience, of wisdom, or of valour ; their judgment had rarely been deceived ; and during more than two centuries the sceptre of Pelagius had been intrusted, with few exceptions, to a succession of warriors and statesmen ; in the full confidence of their strength, or from veneration to the memory of Sancho, they had relaxed from their wonted caution ; the son of the late king, though only five years old, was placed on the throne ; the reins of government were committed to the hands of his mother Teresa, and his aunt Elvira ; a female administration might at first pro-
voke

A. D. 967,
983.

voke a smile of derision; yet during twelve years that it was continued, it was distinguished by prudence and vigour; a profound peace was maintained with the court of Cordova; but the rapacious adventurers of Norway, who had renewed their depredations, were severely chastised; their retreat was intercepted, their fleet destroyed; and those who escaped the sword were sold into servitude.

At the age of seventeen Ramiro the third claimed the authority he was incapable of exercising; his reign was disgraced by the follies, and disturbed by the passions of youth; in the choice of a consort he had consulted the late regents; but whatever virtues Donna Urraca might possess, were more than outweighed by the insolence and rapacity of her relations; a general murmur of disgust was heard; and the eyes of an indignant people were turned on Bermudo, the son of Ordogno the third; his graceful person and affable manners united in his favour the multitude; and the renown of his father recommended him to the nobility; it was in Galicia that he was invested with the ensigns of royalty; yet Ramiro, it must be confessed, defended his crown with vigour and resolution; a bloody battle that was fought with doubtful success, was only terminated by night; in the slaughter of their brethren, the Christians might deplore the guilt and madness of civil war; and the numbers that were swept away in the bloody conflict of Monterossa, exceeded those who had fallen in any action with the Moors; the opportune death of Ramiro as he was engaged in recruiting his forces, put an end to the contest, and Bermudo the second, without a competitor, ascended the throne of Leon.

The

A. D. 985,
999. The abilities of Bermudo are acknowledged; yet the difficulties of his situation exceeded his abilities; in his contest with Ramiro the strength of the monarchy had been dissolved; the spirits of the Moors were revived; they were conducted to conquest by the renowned Almanzor, who united with the talents of a general, the address of a statesman. The king of Leon beheld without daring to oppose, the devastation of the fertile country along the banks of the Duero, the destruction of the walls of Simencas, and the banners of the infidels streaming from the towers of Zamora. He was feebly seconded by a laity corrupted by prosperity and luxury; he was embarrassed by a proud and turbulent clergy; yet hope never deserted him; he collected with difficulty an army sufficient to face the infidels in the field; and on the banks of the river Ezla he rather confided in the justice of his cause, than in the goodness or number of his troops. Yet in the heat of action, the Christians for a moment asserted their ancient renown; the ranks of the Moslems were broken; and the battle was only restored by the despair of Almanzor; his followers were ashamed to abandon a chief, who declared his resolution to conquer or to perish on the spot on which he stood; they returned to the charge, and the efforts of rage and shame were successful. The Christians were overpowered; and Bermudo retreated, or probably fled towards his capital. The fortifications of Leon were incapable of resisting the ardour of a victorious army; the king was not ignorant of the enterprising spirit of Almanzor; he ordered the inhabitants to retire with their most valuable effects; he removed with pious care the sacred remains of his predecessors to Oviedo; and after placing a strong garrison at Leon, with the rest of his forces he withdrew to the shelter of the Asturian mountains.

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The city of Leon was besieged, carried by assault, and levelled to the ground by Almanzor, who in three successive campaigns reduced or overthrew the walls of Astorga, of Coimbra, Viseo, and Lamego, and penetrated from the source of the Ezla to the mouth of the Duero. The fortifications of Braga awhile resisted his fury; but the obstinacy of the inhabitants was severely chastised by the sentence of slavery, and Braga itself was razed to its foundations. Galicia was ravaged, Castille menaced; and disease alone checked the progress of the victor; he retired to return more dreadful; but his retreating steps were closely followed by Bermudo; his rear was frequently attacked, and the Christians severely avenged on the straggling Moors the sufferings of their brethren of Leon and Braga.

The threats of Almanzor had been heard throughout Spain; and their common danger united the Christians from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pyrenees, from the extreme verge of Asturia to the banks of the Duero. The various but kindred standards of the kings of Leon and Navarre, and the counts of Castille, were displayed in the spacious plain of Osma. They awaited, but they awaited not long the approach of Almanzor. Though broken with the gout, and incapable of mounting on horseback, Bermudo animated in person his soldiers; both leaders were alike impatient of delay, and both armies rushed to the encounter with equal alacrity; the struggle between the contending hosts was continued long after the close of day; but the return of the dawn revealed to the Christians the extent of their victory; the Moorish camp was abandoned; the plain of Osma was covered with an hundred thousand lifeless infidels; the haughty spirit of Almanzor scorned to survive defeat; and the exultation with which the Christians received the intelligence

ligence of his death, may be considered as the strongest evidence of his abilities.

The shattered constitution of Bermudo A. D. 999,
1014. allowed him not to achieve the entire deliverance of his country; in about a year after the victory of Osma he expired of disease; and the same suffrages that raised to the throne his infant son Alfonso, committed the protection of his dominions to his widow Elvira. In the arduous station Elvira deserved and acquired the general esteem; an army of Moors who had presumed to ravage Leon, was encountered and driven back with disgrace; and the dissensions of the infidels themselves, prevented them from renewing their hostile enterprises; by negotiation the regent obtained from the counts of Castille, and restored to the family of Cabala, the district of Alava, which the former had usurped from them; but the most important care of Elvira was to form the character of the young Alfonso, on whose qualities the happiness or misery of his subjects was ultimately to depend; the happy genius of the royal youth facilitated the labours of his preceptors; and his marriage with the daughter of the wise and virtuous Gonzalez his governor, might be variously ascribed to love or gratitude.

The voice of a people called Alfonso the A. D. 1014,
1026. fifth to practise on a throne the lessons that he had studied in the cabinet; within the tranquil walls of a monastery, Elvira listened with pleasure to the rising virtues and renown of her son. During twelve years that his reign and life were continued, he laboured, and not unsuccessfully, to restore the glory and felicity of his subjects. Beneath his auspices the walls of Leon rose in fresh strength, and the capital resumed its ancient magnificence; the new fortifications of Zamora protected the Christians, and awed the infidels;

fidels; the Moors rent by intestine discord were incapable of opposing his progress; with a well disciplined army he passed the Duero, and invested the city of Viseo; it was defended by a strong garrison; the heat of the weather tempted Alfonso to lay aside his cuirass; and as he rode round the walls he was mortally wounded by a Moorish arrow; a few hours after he expired in his tent, and left an only and infant son, who was the heir of his crown and virtues.

Bermudo the third, was probably not more than twelve years of age when he A. D. 1026, 1037. was chosen to succeed his father; but the bloody dissensions of the Moors suffered them not to avail themselves of the weakness of a minority; and at the expiration of four years, when Bermudo received from the hands of the queen his mother the reins of government, it was the formidable power of a Christian neighbour that first excited his jealousy. By arms or address, by birth or alliance, Sancho, king of Navarre, had added to his paternal dominions the kingdom of Arragon, and the greatest part of the province of Biscay; under the pretence of avenging the murder of Garcias, count of Castille, who had been basely assassinated, he entered that country with a numerous army, seized and executed the assassins, and converted to his own advantage their crime, by retaining the dominions of the unfortunate Garcias. From the mountains of Sierra Morena to the northern extremity of the Pyrenees his authority was acknowledged. His ambiguous claim to the city of Valencia on the frontiers of Asturia was openly resisted by Bermudo; and a war was kindled between the rival monarchs; the country between the Pisuerga and the Cea was over-run by the united forces of Navarre and Castille; and the strong city of Astorga on the banks of the Ezla, was after a long siege compelled

compelled to surrender. To recover the country that had been wrested from him, and to retrieve the honour of his arms, Bermudo collected with diligence his forces, and pitched his camp in sight of that of Sancho. The ardour and ambition of the leaders might have prompted them instantly to have decided their differences in a field of battle; but their subjects had embraced their quarrel with reluctance; the holy mediation of the bishops of Navarre and Leon were successfully employed; and Sancho and Bermudo were persuaded, perhaps with difficulty, to avert the effusion of Christian blood, and to try the effect of a negotiation; the king of Navarre consented to resign to his second son Ferdinand, his new acquisition of Castille; the country between the Puiferga and the Cea was ceded by Bermudo to the latter as the marriage portion of his sister; and with the hand of Sancho, the name of Ferdinand was inscribed as the first king of Castille.

A reconciliation which had been extorted by necessity, was observed no longer than interest dictated; the death of Sancho dissolved that formidable power which had awed the king of Leon. His eldest son Garcias succeeded to the crown of Navarre, with the province of Biscay; the dominions of Ferdinand his second, have been already described; to Gonzalez the third, were bequeathed the districts which under the name of Sobranza and Ribargona stretch along the frontiers of Arragon and Catalonia; and the fertile and populous kingdom of Arragon was the inheritance of Ramiro the fourth. The division which paternal affection suggested, might have proved fatal to all; but it was Ferdinand who first had reason to dread the consequences of it. With a numerous army Bermudo besieged and reduced the city of Palentia, and recovered without a battle, and in one campaign, the
country

country between the Puiferga and the Cea. Incapable of contending alone with the king of Leon, he summoned to his assistance his brother of Navarre. Their combined forces were collected in the valley of Samara near Fromista, when they were informed of the approach of Bermudo. The obscure spot of Carrion has been rendered illustrious for the decisive action; and could the king of Leon have restrained his ardour, the superiority of his numbers would probably have secured to him the victory; but impatient of resistance or delay, he spurred his courser into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and while he darted his eyes around in search of his royal adversaries, his unguarded bosom was transpierced by the lance of an unknown foe. He fell lifeless from his horse; and his astonished troops, without a general, must have been exposed to certain slaughter, had they not been rescued by the prudence and policy of Ferdinand. His voice restrained the martial fury of his followers; the battle ceased, and the crown of Leon was the reward of the forbearance of the victor. The male descendants of Pelagius after reigning three centuries, were extinguished in Bermudo the third; the natural claims of the brother-in-law of that prince were debated and acknowledged in a national council; and the crowns of Leon and Castille were united on the head of Ferdinand.

CHAPTER VI.

State of Spain on the union of the crowns of Castille and Leon under Ferdinand the first.—War of that monarch with his brothers, the kings of Navarre and Arragon.—Account of, and exploits of Don Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid.—Death of Ferdinand.—Division of his dominions.—Sancho the second despoils his brothers of Leon and Gallicia.—He is killed in the siege of Zamora.—Accession of Alfonso the sixth.—Disgrace of the Cid.—Establisches himself on the frontiers of Valencia.—Alfonso reduces Toledo.—Is defeated by the Moors.—His peace and marriage with the daughter of the king of Seville.—Invasion of the Almoravides.—Defeat of Ucles.—Death of Alfonso.—His daughter Urraca is acknowledged as his successor.—Civil wars with her husband and son.—On her death, Castille and Leon submit to her son Alfonso the seventh.—His glorious reign.—He receives the title of emperor from the princes of Spain.—Divides his dominions between his sons Sancho and Ferdinand.—Short but prudent reign of Sancho over Castille.—Turbulent minority of his son Alfonso the eighth.—He assumes the administration.—Is defeated by the Moors near Alarcón.—He marries his daughter Beregara to his nephew the young king of Leon.—Crusade of the Christians against the infidels of Spain.—Gallantry of Alfonso in the battle of Toloso.—Splendid victory of the Christians.—Prudent reign and death of Alfonso.—He is succeeded by his son Henry.—Disputes for the regency.—Death of Henry, and accession of Beregara.—She resigns the crown to her son Ferdinand

nand the second, who on the death of his father unites the kingdoms of Castille and Leon.

AT the time that Ferdinand united with Castille the crown of Leon, the greatest and most fertile part of Spain acknowledged his own authority or that of his brothers; the eldest, Garcias, reigned over Navarre and part of Biscay; the third, Gonzalez possessed the districts of Sobranza and Ribargona, which projected into or separated Arragon and Catalonia; Arragon was the royal inheritance of Ramiro the fourth, who established in Saragossa the seat of his government. But considerable districts were still occupied by the Moors; from the Pyrenees their territories stretched along the Mediterranean sea to the rock of Gibraltar, and from the point of Tarif coasted the Atlantic to the mouth of the Tagus; beyond that river to the Duero they possessed several strong and important towns; and though a few Christian chiefs might confide in the natural or artificial strength of their rocks and castles, they rather disturbed the tranquillity than asserted the independence of Portugal; but Andalusia, Granada, and Murcia, believed in the faith, or obeyed the followers of Mahomet; Toledo, with a portion of new Castille, and all Valencia, were cultivated by the Moors; and a Saracen emir resided in Barcelona, and stimulated the industry of the Catalans. The magnificent cities of Seville and Cordova were inhabited by Moslems; a long tract of sea-coast afforded frequent and spacious harbours, and was propitious to commerce; and the grateful soil of Granada repaid seven-fold the toils of the husbandman; yet these advantages were neglected or abused by the Moors; the same causes as had nearly overwhelmed the

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Christians, precipitated the downfall of the Moslems of Spain; and while ambition or jealousy pointed their swords against each other, their kindred strength was consumed, and the boundaries of their dominions gradually receded.

The designs of conquest which had been suspended by the death of Alfonso the fifth, were resumed by the martial and active spirit of Ferdinand. He passed the Duero near Zamora, carried by assault, and put to the sword the garrison of Zena; and formed the siege of Viseo; the walls of that city were levelled by his machines; and the execution of the Moors whose skill had been fatal to Alfonso, rather marks his veneration for the memory of that monarch than his regard for justice. The fortifications of Coimbra were superior to force; and in his second campaign, Ferdinand patiently awaited the capitulation of the garrison from the slow but certain effects of famine. A chain of posts occupied with judgment and vigilance, prevented the introduction of all supplies; yet for several months the perseverance of the Moors was displayed, nor did they surrender until hunger had exhausted their vigour, and hope was no more.

In the reduction of Viseo and Coimbra, his subjects might applaud with justice, and exult without remorse in the success of Ferdinand; but the martial trophies of that prince were chiefly erected over his own kinsman; his victory at Carrion had been stained with the blood of a brother-in-law; he was soon involved in a contest which was only terminated by the destruction of a brother; and though his moderation has been loudly praised by the Spanish historians, yet some suspicions naturally rest on a prince who at least acquired one kingdom by violating the ties of domestic alliance. He listened with alacrity to the intelligence, that in a visit to the court of Navarre, he had narrowly escaped being
detained

detained a captive; and when on the indisposition of Ferdinand, the fraternal affection of Garcias attracted him to Leon, on the recovery of his brother he found himself with indignation arrested and conveyed a prisoner to the fortress of Cea. He eluded the vigilance of his guards, escaped to his own dominions, and returned at the head of a numerous army impatient for revenge. It is probable that Ferdinand was unwilling to depend on force, for those advantages which he had endeavoured to obtain by fraud; but every offer of reconciliation was sternly rejected; and nine miles from Burgos, the plains of Atupuerta and Agas were deluged with Christian and kindred blood; while the battle raged with doubtful violence, a javelin from a vulgar hand pierced the bosom of Garcias; he fell into the arms of, and was conveyed from the field by, his attendants; but their zeal was vain; the wound was mortal; and he soon after expired. His troops, dismayed by his fate, retired in confusion; the pursuit was checked by Ferdinand; and the forbearance of the victorious monarch has been ascribed to remorse. But that emotion seldom finds room in the bosoms of ambitious princes; and most probably Ferdinand feared less the reproaches of his conscience than the murmurs of his subjects; he might dread an union of the other powers of Spain to check his career of conquests; and he suffered without a struggle the crown of Navarre to descend, or be placed on the head of the son of Garcias.

Yet it is doubtful whether the reign of Ferdinand is not marked by the slaughter of another brother; the fate of Ramiro king of Arragon, and his war with Castille, have been regarded by many critics as entirely spurious; by some historians those events have been fixed after the death of Ferdinand; a faint light however glimmers through the dark and confused records of the times; and the monument

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of Ramiro in the monastery of St. John de la Pagna, attests that he died before his brother Ferdinand; the most general account is, that he attacked the dominions of a Moorish chief, who was tributary to the king of Leon and Castille; the latter ordered his forces under the command of his son Sancho, and under the conduct of his celebrated general Rodrigo, better known from the muse of Corneille by the name of the Cid, to march to the defence of his vassal; a battle was fought, Ramiro killed; and the victory which was imputed to the skill, confirmed the renown of Rodrigo.

Fifteen summers had not yet matured the strength of Rodrigo, when his fearless spirit was displayed in vindicating the honour of an insulted father. The aged Alfonso de Vivar had in the presence of the court received a blow from the count de Lozano. He could not trust to his own feeble arm for reparation; and though he had three sons who had attained to manhood, it was to the youthful ardour of the fourth that he confided the indignity, and his hopes of vengeance; his choice was justified by the alacrity of Roderigo; and, before the royal palace, Lozano fell by the sword of an adversary, whose youth and inexperience he had derided. A martial age approved the deed; and the valour which had avenged the injuries of a father, extended the glory of a people. Rodrigo grew in fame and years; but on his return from a successful campaign against the infidels, he was accused by the filial piety of the daughter of Lozano; she found the culprit in full possession of the royal favour and the admiration of his country; she was moved to compassion by his renown, she was inflamed to love by his majestic person and graceful address; she consented to become the consort of an hero; and the death of a father was forgotten, or atoned in the embraces of a vigorous husband.

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The surname of Cid, is a corruption from the Arabic of *El Seid*, or Lord, which the respect of the Moors first conferred on their conqueror, and which was afterwards confirmed to him by the esteem of his king. The exploits of the Cid have been adorned and exaggerated by fancy, yet through the cloud of fable we may discern that he was an intrepid soldier and skilful captain. To his genius was ascribed the defeat of Ramiro; as the general of Sancho, the son and successor of Ferdinand in the throne of Castille, he wrested the victory from Alfonso of Leon; with his own followers he recovered Valencia; though his integrity exposed him to the ingratitude of a court, he was constantly followed by the esteem of his countrymen; and in the reign of Alfonso the sixth, after near sixty successful years of martial toils, he encountered with the resignation of a Christian that death which he had so often braved as a warrior.

The marriage and victory of Ferdinand had first united the crowns of Castille and Leon; his death separated them; the division of his dominions which he prevailed on a national assembly to ratify, might rather become a fond parent who wished to distribute his favours impartially among his children, than a wise monarch jealous of the happiness and grandeur of his people. To his eldest son Sancho, he assigned Castille; to Alfonso, his second, Leon and the Asturias; Galicia, with the part of Portugal he had conquered were erected into an independent kingdom for Garcias the youngest; and to his daughters Urraca and Elvira he bequeathed the cities of Zamora and Toro, on the banks of the Duero.

His death was the signal of almost immediate hostilities between his children: the ambitious Sancho considered the rights of primogeniture as violated by the ungrateful distribution.

A. D. 1067,
1072.

tribution. He invaded Leon with a formidable army; and was encountered by his brother Alfonso at Valpallar, near Carrion. The action was maintained throughout the whole day until darkness parted the combatants; in the loss of his bravest soldiers, Sancho might repent his rash injustice; but his spirits were revived by the counsels of the Cid; while the troops of Alfonso were drowned in sleep, or anticipated in revelry the fruits of victory, their camp was suddenly attacked, and in the confusion of a night assault, they were exposed to the swords of their more vigilant foe; Alfonso fled and was overtaken; he was despoiled of his dominions; but his life was spared; and the monastery of Sahagon was assigned as his prison. The victor entered Galicia; and Garcias, attacked by his brother and deserted by his subjects, sought an asylum in the Mahometan court of the king of Seville.

Yet though Sancho had regained by arms what he conceived himself unjustly deprived of by the partiality of his father, he was not permitted long to enjoy the territories he had usurped; the flight of Alfonso from Sahagon awakened his fears; and a suspicion that the means of escape had been furnished by his sisters, excited his resentment; Toro, the inheritance of Elyra, was terrified into submission; but the resistance of Zamora was animated by Urraca herself, who, above the weakness of her sex, derided the menaces and repulsed the attacks of her brother; the length of the siege exhausted the patience or prudence of Sancho; he listened to the insidious promises of an officer of the garrison who proposed to betray to him the gate he commanded at; as Sancho advanced without caution, an ambuscade started from some adjacent ruins; he was encompassed, and slain; his guards arrived only to behold their master weltering in his blood; the siege of Zamora was instantly raised; the army

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that had formed it dispersed ; and the pious care of the Cid conveyed and deposited the remains of the unfortunate Sancho in the monastery of Ona.

In Toledo, Alfonso was informed of the fate of his brother ; and whatever hopes A. D. 1072,
1109. the dispatches of Urraca might inspire,

were alloyed by the survey of his own precarious situation ; his fears were dissipated by the generosity of the Moorish monarch Ali Maimon, who nobly disdained to shackle his illustrious guest with unworthy conditions ; and with mutual vows of eternal friendship and honourable alliance, dismissed him to improve the return of fortune. At Zamora Alfonso the sixth received the congratulations of the nobles of Leon and Asturia ; but some delay was interposed by the pride of the Castilians ; and it was stipulated, that on his arrival at Burgos he should by oath, before he ascended the throne, clear himself of being privy to the murder of Sancho. Yet when the moment came the nobles of Castille were awed by the presence of their future sovereign ; their silence was reproached by the honest boldness of Rodrigo ; he proposed the sacred obligation ; it was accepted by Alfonso ; but the Cid was for ever estranged from the counsels and favour of the new monarch. With a train of martial adventurers he quitted Castille ; surprised the castle of Alcazar on the frontiers of Arragon ; penetrated to the borders of Valencia ; and in the pleasant district of Teruel, which is fertilized by the streams of the Guadalquivir and Alhambra, fixed his residence on a craggy height, that still bears the name of *Pena de el Cid*, or the *Rock of the Cid*.

At the same time that Alfonso quitted the court of Toledo, Garcias emerged from his retirement of Seville ; in the hour of exile the former had probably deplored the unhappy lot of the latter ; but seated on a throne, he indulged the ambition
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he had so lately been the victim of; Garcias had scarce resumed the government of Galicia, before he was invited to a conference with Alfonso; he accepted it, hastened to Leon, and became the prisoner of his brother; and Galicia was united under the same authority as Castille and Leon.

The turbulence of the times was favourable to the first enterprises of Alfonso. He availed himself of the revolt of the inhabitants of Navarre, to seize the important province of Biscay. Gratitude might restrain him from disturbing the tranquillity of Ali Maimon; but that monarch was no more; and the sceptre of Toledo in less than a year had passed from the hand of his eldest son Hassam, to his youngest Hiaga. If we may credit the Spanish historians, the citizens of Toledo themselves solicited Alfonso to deliver them from the bloody controul of a tyrant. Yet if the character of Hiaga is stained with cruelty, it appears not devoid of vigour. Though destitute of allies, and harrassed by the king of Seville, whom sound policy should have directed to have defended, and not oppressed his Mahometan neighbour, four campaigns were consumed, and many engagements maintained before Alfonso presumed to approach the walls of Toledo. In the fifth year he formed the siege of that city; and the obstinacy with which it was defended for several months by the citizens, may justly entitle us to suspect the impartiality of those writers who represent Hiaga as detested by his subjects. But famine raged within; a bold and numerous enemy were indefatigable in their attacks without; and Hiaga consented to negotiate when he was no longer able to resist; he obtained permission, with those who were willing to share his fortunes, to retire in search of new adventures; a solemn treaty promised and ought to have secured to the inhabitants who remained, the free exercise of their religion
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and the quiet possession of their property; Valencia received Hiaga and his companions; and that life which had been respected by the swords of the Christians, was sacrificed to the daggers of the Moslems.

Toledo was erected by Alfonso into the capital of the kingdom of Castille; and an acquisition which had been made at the expence of so much blood and treasure, was secured by new fortifications. But the success of the Christians had aroused the Mahometans from their supineness. To the powerful king of Seville, was joined the Mussulman prince of Badajoz, who ruled over the province of Estremadura, and they both invoked the assistance of their brethren from Africa. Alfonso, who was not ignorant of the object of their alliance, still confided in his own activity and the valour of his subjects; he penetrated into Estremadura, and extended his ravages to the stream of the Alagon. On the banks of that river he attacked and reduced the town of Corea; but he had scarce taken possession of it before he was informed of the approach of the kings of Seville and Badajoz at the head of the tribes who inhabited the country between the Guadalquivir and Guadiana. He advanced to meet them; and the decisive battle was fought between Badajoz and Merida; but the event of the day was unfavourable to the Christians; Alfonso himself was wounded in the leg by an arrow; and escaped with difficulty from a field overspread with twenty thousand of his subjects. Yet it is probable amidst danger and dismay he was not unmindful of his rank and renown; and he would not have presumed at Toledo to have reproached the ignominious speed of his nobles, had he himself first deserted his station.

The honour of the field had been obtained by the Moslems; but it had been purchased at the expence

expenditure of thirty thousand of their lives; and the kings of Seville and Badajoz, far from being able to act on the offensive, were scarce capable to protect their dominions. While the spirit of Alfonso rose superior to defeat, the courage of his troops was revived by a successful incursion against the Moors of Portugal; he carried Lisbon by assault, and was admitted into Cintra by capitulation; but he resigned in the ensuing year his acquisitions on the banks of the Tagus to Henry of Besancon, who had crossed the Pyrenees from France to his support, had received in marriage the hand of his natural daughter Theresa, and laid the foundation of the Christian kingdom of Portugal.

Alfonso had been defeated; the strength of the infidels had been exhausted by victory, and both parties inclined to peace; the charms of Zaida, the daughter of the king of Seville, hastened the negociation; Alfonso was impatient to receive into his bed a princess whose beauty and accomplishments were the theme of general admiration; and to share the throne of Castille and Leon, Raida renounced the faith of her ancestors. The articles of future alliance between the two kings were easily adjusted; a mutual exchange of several places was agreed upon, and a transient tranquillity was restored to Spain.

It was while the war raged with doubtful fury that Hiaga, king of Valentia, was assassinated in his capital; at the head of his own followers, and a small reinforcement sent him by Alfonso, the Cid, disdainful of the repose of age, marched to avenge his fate. After a long siege Valentia submitted to the genius of an hero; Rodrigo fixed in it his residence, defended it against an host of Moslems; and when he expired full of years and glory, his undaunted spirit seemed to have survived in the bosom of his widow, who maintained Valentia against

against the attacks of the infidels, until the prudence and distress of Alfonso prompted him to abandon a distant and precarious conquest.

In a reign of above thirty years, Alfonso could reflect but on a few months of tranquil enjoyment. The storms of war again gathered in the south; the Almoravides, of Arabian extraction, who professed a rigid obedience to the Koran, had possessed themselves of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco; in their new settlements they retained the native ferocity of the wandering Arabs; they were governed by a king or caliph of the name of Yusuf or Joseph; and is it doubtful whether they were at first invited as allies, or landed in Spain as open enemies; it was against the Moors their immediate attacks were directed; Seville was betrayed by treachery, or reduced by force; and a vigorous war was waged against the Moslems of Murcia; but the artifice did not deceive the vigilance of Alfonso; and he doubted not but the invaders aspired to the entire conquest of Spain; a considerable body of troops that the king of Castille and Leon had detached to the support of his father-in-law of Seville, compelled Joseph to throw off the mask; he attacked and defeated the Christians at Quada in la Mancha, a country that in the romance of Don Quixotte, has been immortalized by the pen of Cervantes. Yet the victor presumed not to await the approach of Alfonso, who on the news of the disaster had advanced to retrieve the honour of his arms at the head of the martial nobles of Castille and Leon. The chiefs of the Almoravides withdrew to Malaga, reembarked for Africa, and inflamed their brethren by a distribution of the spoil and a description of the wealth of the country. The rapacious myriads of Fez and Morocco readily obeyed the voice of their sovereign that incited them to plunder; a considerable fleet was collected,

collected, probably in the port of Velez, a favourable wind soon transported them to the coast of Granada; they were joined by their countrymen who had maintained possession of Seville; and the fertile fields along the Tagus were blasted by their destructive presence.

Age and infirmities suffered not Alfonso to take the field in person; he was deprived by death of his son-in-law Raymond, to whose valour and experience he might have confided the command of his forces; and a feeble boy eleven years old, the only son of Alfonso, could not animate the Christians by his example, but might confirm their efforts by the sense of his danger. The *infant* Sancho, for such was the title of the presumptive heir to the crown, was shielded by the arm of his governor Don Garcia de Cabra, who probably also acted as general. At Ucles near Toledo, the Christians descried the banners of Mahomet and the myriads of Africa; yet they advanced with confidence; and the battle was long disputed with that fury which religious and national enmity naturally inspire. The squadrons of the Almoharides penetrated, at length or overwhelmed the adverse ranks; the horse of Sancho was killed, his governor slain in his defence, and the prince himself trampled to death; seven counts of the most illustrious families of Spain preserved their honour, but lost their lives: and of the nameless crowd near thirty thousand perished in the action or pursuit.

To a discerning eye, the character of Alfonso never appeared to greater advantage than amidst the storms of adversity. On the couch of sickness he still retained the same vigour of mind as had formerly distinguished him in the field of battle; he had no longer a son; but his private loss was forgotten in the public calamity; he levied new forces;

forces; secured Toledo by a strong garrison; and still appeared formidable to the invaders; who as they surveyed the field, mournfully acknowledged the loss of the victors had exceeded that of the vanquished; and turned aside from the walls of Toledo to more easy conquests over the infidels of Catalonia.

Eighteen months after the disastrous battle of Ucles, and in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, Alfonso breathed his last; a short time before his death he had bestowed the widowed hand of his daughter Urraca, on Alfonso king of Navarre and Arragon. To claim the crown of his late father-in-law, that monarch advanced with a powerful army to the frontiers of Castille; but he was admonished by the nobles that his own dominions were the proper station for his troops; and that no force was necessary, since the rights of Urraca were undisputed. He yielded to their remonstrances, dismissed his followers; and in a national assembly the authority of Urraca over the kingdoms of Castille and Leon was formally recognized.

A. D. 1199,
1126.

Alfonso had flattered himself that he should have reigned under the name of his consort; but he found it easier to conciliate the affections of a martial nobility, than to command the obedience or to gain the acquiescence of an imperious and turbulent woman. Urraca despised the authority or influence of her husband; their domestic dissensions ripened into a civil war; the queen was imprisoned by Alfonso, was delivered by her nobles, who considered their honour as wounded by her captivity; and in a field of battle presumed to defend her independence; but they were vanquished by the superior numbers or skill of their adversaries; yet whatever advantage Alfonso had acquired in the field, he soon lost in the cabinet. The convenient

venient conscience of Urraca was afflicted by her marriage with her cousin; her doubts were imparted to an obsequious clergy; and in the council of Palentia her union with the king of Arragon was formally dissolved by the omnipotent sentence of the Roman pontiff.

Yet though the subjects of Urraca had espoused the cause, they were far from approving the conduct of that princess. Their eyes were turned on the infant Alfonso, the issue of her first marriage with Raymond count of Burgundy; Galicia acknowledged him as her sovereign; his title was sanctioned by the holy influence of the archbishop of Compostella; and a new scene of bloody and kindred discord was opened. Tenacious of a sceptre which she had held against the grasp of a vigorous husband, Urraca refused to yield to the pretensions of a youthful son; ten years Castille and Leon were distracted by the rival factions; at the end of that term Urraca expired at Saldagna of indisposition, and Alfonso the seventh, in the twentieth year of his age, was declared king of Castille and Leon.

The king of Arragon had not been an
A. D. 1126,
1157. indolent spectator of the late commotions; notwithstanding the sentence of the Roman pontiff, the cities of Carrion, Nagara, and Burgos, preferred his claims to those of Urraca; but on the death of the queen, they expelled his garrisons and proclaimed Alfonso the seventh. The king of Arragon appeared in arms on the banks of the Lima to chastise their levity; but near the stream of that river he was opposed by his royal antagonist, who with a firm step led on the martial nobles of Castille and Leon to battle. Amidst the sanguinary annals of ambitious monarchs, we are pleased to discover some traces of a feeling heart; the king of Arragon confessed his affection
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for a prince whom he had been accustomed to call his son; he consented to evacuate the few places he still retained in Castille, and to become the ally, instead of the enemy of her youthful sovereign.

A slight revolt that was excited by the house of Lara in Castille, served only to display the vigour, and exercise the clemency of Alfonso: an insurrection in the Asturias was scarce attended with more serious consequences; the ardour of the new monarch accorded with that of his subjects; to efface their disgrace at Ucles, the flower of the nobility repaired to the royal standard. The army in two columns forded the Guadiana; the right, which passed beneath the towers of Badajoz, was intrusted to Roderic de Gonzalez, who had rebelled, been vanquished, and by his subsequent services justified the lenity and confidence of his prince; the left, which penetrated through the mountains of Sierra Morena, was conducted by the king himself; their march was marked by devastation; and so judiciously was the enterprise concerted, and so happily executed, that they arrived the same day by different routes at the castle of Gallalo. The calamities which had been inflicted by the Moors on Castille, might vindicate the orders which were issued by Alfonso; the vines and olives which grew along the banks of the Guadalquivir were rooted up; the hopes of the husbandmen consumed; the mosques levelled to the ground; the villages abandoned to the flames; and the wretched inhabitants were awakened from security to slavery. The fortifications of Seville were respected by an army unprovided with battering machines; but the suburbs were insulted, and probably destroyed. Beyond that city Alfonso pursued his victorious career; surveyed at Xeres the fatal field which had witnessed the overthrow of the Visigoths, and the triumph of the Saracens; and from his camp in the neighbourhood
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of Gibraltar might behold the coast of Africa and the fortress of Ceuta. In his return at the head of his cavalry he encountered and overthrew the vanguard of the Moorish army; the main body trusted to the massy walls of Seville rather than to their valour; and without further interruption the march of the victors was continued through the desolated province of Estremadura to the friendly turrets of Talavera.

Yet on every side the banners of the Christians were not gilded with the the same success; and as the aged king of Arragon pressed the siege of Fraga on the banks of the Cinga, he lost among the mountains his army and his life. His sceptre was broken by his death; the kingdoms of Arragon and Navarre, which had been united by his arms, were again separated; and while the former acknowledged the authority of his brother Ramiro, the latter submitted to the pretensions of his kinsman Garcias.

The son of Urraca could not hear without emotion the fate of a prince whom he had regarded as a father; and as a Christian king, he could not be indifferent to the defeat of Fraga and the triumph of the infidels. He entered Arragon at the head of a considerable army, and the apprehensions which Ramiro might have entertained at his approach, were dispelled by the assurance that he came as an ally to act against their common enemy, the Moslems. Their union probably deterred the Moors from pursuing their advantage; and Alfonso after a friendly interview with Ramiro returned to Leon.

It was in that city that the general voice and gratitude of the Christian princes of Spain hailed him with the title of *Emperor*; the pride of the successors of Constantine and Charlemagne might reject as an associate in the imperial dignity, a monarch whose influence was confined between the straits of Gibraltar and the Pyrenean mountains; but the pretensions

pretensions of Alfonso were erected on the most solid foundations; and his new honours were the voluntary fruits of the esteem of his subjects and the admiration of his neighbours.

Yet jealousy is a passion more congenial to the bosoms of princes than gratitude; and the kings of Navarre and Portugal, who had been most zealous in conferring on Alfonso the title of emperor, were the first to confederate against him. Their league had originated in perfidy, and was dissolved with disgrace; they were successively compelled to sue for peace; and the terms were such as marked the moderation of the conqueror, desirous of preventing the effusion of Christian blood, and reserving his strength entire to act against the Mahometans.

With a formidable army Alfonso burst into the province of Andalusia, and extended his ravages over the open country; but his exultation was of short continuance; a detachment of his troops which had imprudently passed the Guadalquivir in search of plunder, was cut to pieces in his sight; after the loss of one of his principal generals and some thousands of his soldiers, he was compelled to retire from the walls of Coria; and though he reduced the strong fortress of Oraja, which had been constructed with the greatest skill on the frontiers of the kingdoms of Castille and Cordova, yet six months were consumed in the tedious enterprise. The acquisition was more than balanced by the loss of Mora, which awed the country between the Guadiana and the Tagus, and which was betrayed by the negligence or treachery of the governor. But in the succeeding campaign, Alfonso took Coria, recovered Mora; and with the assistance of the naval squadrons of France, of Genoa, and of Pisa, invested the town of Almeria, on the coast of Granada. The former assailed the walls by land, the latter blocked up the harbour by sea. The resistance

of the garrison was firm but ineffectual; Almeria submitted to the authority of Alfonso, and her treasures, the fruits of piratical adventure, were the reward of his allies. The dissensions of the Moors prevented them from interrupting the operations of the Christians; a new race of fanatics had arose amidst the sands of Africa; had precipitated themselves on Spain; and the dynasty of the Almoravides was lost in that of the Almohades.

The discord of the Moslems should have admonished the Christians of the advantages of union; yet the fondness of the father prevailed over the policy of the monarch; and in a national assembly the emperor recommended the division of his dominions; his advice was secretly condemned, and openly approved; his eldest son Sancho was declared his successor in both the Castilles, and his youngest, Ferdinand, in Leon and Asturia. Their hopes had no sooner been formally ratified by the states, than the emperor again took the field. His forces were swelled by those of Navarre, animated by the example of their king; and as the confederate host issued from the mountains of Sierra Morena, they beheld, and were charged by the rapid squadrons of the Moors; the shock was violent; but the Christians fought beneath the eyes of their respective monarchs; their ranks were restored by the skill of Alfonso; and their transient disgrace was effaced by a cruel slaughter of their enemies. Jaen was plundered, Seville insulted; and the country between the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana converted into a desert. But the triumphant entry of Alfonso into Leon was alloyed by the unwelcome intelligence of the indisposition of the king of Navarre, who soon after his return from the campaign expired at Pampeluna; and in his death the emperor deplored the double loss of an affectionate son-in-law, and an important ally.

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The age of Alfonso, which did not amount to fifty years, and the experience of his past conduct, seemed to extend the prospect of the public felicity; a visit from Louis the seventh of France, who had married his daughter Constantia, did not divert the emperor from the toils of war. He traversed again the mountains of Sierra Morena, and pitched his camp under the walls of Andujar, which are washed by the Guadalquivir. The natural and artificial strength of that city had resisted the attacks of successive generals who had aspired to the possession of it; but it yielded to the ardour or perseverance of Alfonso; and after a short visit to Toledo, the victor again took the field, with the pleasing expectation of completing the conquest of Andalusia; in a bloody encounter near Jaen he defeated the united force of the infidels; his last days were cheered by victory; but disease prevented him from improving it; the increasing ravages of a dysentery announced his speedy dissolution; and on his return towards Toledo, the emperor Alfonso expired in the obscure village of Fresneda.

The infidels exulted in the death of an enemy whose sword had so often proved fatal to their bravest warriors; the Christians lamented the loss of a prince whose genius had invariably conducted them to victory; the first were encouraged, the last terrified by the prospect of a feeble and divided administration. Yet on their respective thrones the virtues of Sancho and Ferdinand commanded applause and esteem; their fraternal affection was unimpaired by jealousy or ambition; and though in the first moments of a new reign the Moors recovered Andalusia, and planted again the standard of Mahomet on the towers of Andujar; yet no sooner had the king of Castille received the congratulations of his nobles

A. D. 1157,
1158.

and Christian neighbours, than he moved forward to conquest; in a long and bloody action on the frontiers of Andalusia he proved himself not unworthy of his illustrious father; the Moors fled before him; but the news of his victory was scarcely diffused before it was followed by that of his death; the surname of *the desired*, is expressive of his amiable qualities; and the suspicion that he fell a victim to his grief for the loss of Blanch, his much-loved consort, is an evidence of his feeling heart.

A. D. 1158,
1214. The memory of his virtues, and the abilities of his faithful minister Don Gutierrez de Castro, promoted the election of his son Alfonso, who when only three years old was acknowledged king of Castille. The administration of Gutierrez was short and stormy; the envy of the nobles was excited by his appointment; and the family of Lara, not less remarkable for their wealth and descent than for their daring and turbulent spirit, were his declared enemies. They possessed themselves by fraud of the person of the young king; they asserted by force their pretensions to the regency; and a civil war would have been the immediate consequence of their ambition, had not the opportune death of Gutierrez extinguished their rising discord.

On the decease of Gutierrez, Don Manrique de Lara was formally recognized as the regent of Castille; and some vigour was displayed in the success with which he resisted the rival claims of the king of Leon, and the hostile incursions of the king of Arragon. But the family of Castro were still the objects of his indefatigable hatred; and an attempt to deprive Ferdinand the brother of Gutierrez of the government of the city of Toledo, was fatal to his own life; the angry passions of the two factions urged them to battle; Manrique was killed, and his followers dispersed by the victor; yet Nugnez de Lara

Lara arose to supply with more auspicious fortune the place of his brother. A new army was levied in the name of the king; the adherents to the house of Castro were proclaimed rebels; Toledo obeyed the summons of, and opened her gates to, her sovereign; and Ferdinand was compelled to seek an asylum among the enemies of his country and religion.

Under the name of Alfonso, Nugnez de Lara governed for some time with absolute sway; he negotiated and concluded a marriage between the king and Eleanora the daughter of Henry the second, who with England ruled over the extensive province of Normandy. Yet the house of Castro had rather been surprised than vanquished; from Seville, Ferdinand their chief had repaired to the court of Leon, and was received with open arms by a monarch who had himself experienced the arrogance of Nugnez de Lara. The martial youth of Leon were permitted or encouraged to march beneath the standard of Ferdinand; his own retainers were still numerous; and the exile at the head of an army entered Castille, to solicit his pardon, and the punishment of his rival. To encounter his hereditary enemy, Nugnez advanced with a considerable body of forces hastily assembled; and their differences were terminated in a field of battle, which was adverse to the house of Lara; two counts of the name were slain in the conflict; and Nugnez himself, a prisoner, might have envied their fate; yet he was received with courtesy and dismissed with magnanimity; and Ferdinand aspired to the more noble revenge of subduing a second time by his generosity, the enemy whom he had first vanquished by his arms. Without violating the dignity of his sovereign, he led back his victorious followers to Leon; and in a marriage with the natural sister of his royal protector, who esteemed, and knew how
to

to reward his merits, he renounced for ever his native country.

On the captivity of Nugnez de Lara, the reins of administration were assumed by Alfonso himself; but the unsteady hand with which he held them, was the affliction of his subjects and the exultation of his enemies; he provoked the resentment of his Christian neighbours, and engaged in a series of hostile and unsuccessful enterprises against the kings of Leon, of Arragon, and of Navarre. And when the formidable preparations of the Moors compelled him at last to solicit the friendship and succour of those monarchs, actuated by pride and jealousy, he rushed to the field to anticipate the diligence of his allies, and to erect alone the trophies his fond presumption had promised; near the town of Alarcon a broken monument still records the defeat of the Christians; the waters of the Xucar were purpled with the blood of twenty thousand Castilians. Unwilling to survive the effects of his own rashness, the king sought death amidst the thickest squadrons of the enemy; but his person was shielded by a brave and faithful nobility, who fought around him, and at length conveyed him from the scene of dismay and slaughter. In his retreat with the shattered remains of his army, he met the king of Leon advancing to his support; their interview was cold and reproachful; the son of Ferdinand, for Ferdinand himself was no more, upbraided the jealous temerity of Alfonso, and Alfonso accused with warmth the tardy prudence of his confederate; they parted with mutual disgust; and while Toledo was insulted and besieged by the infidels, the king of Castille was employed in ravaging the territories of a kinsman and Christian ally.

The magnanimity of Alfonso, for such also was the name of the son and successor of Ferdinand, was superior to the insult; he sacrificed his own
resentment

resentment to the general interest of the Christian powers; and though he advanced at the head of an army, it was only to add weight to his offers of reconciliation. The murmurs of the Castilian nobility compelled their sovereign to subscribe an equal and honourable treaty; the bonds of political union were drawn more close by those of domestic alliance; in the cathedral of Valladolid the king of Leon received the hand of Berengara, the daughter of his cousin of Castille; and though the marriage was afterwards dissolved by the imperious voice of the Roman pontiff, yet the issue of it was declared legitimate; the title of Ferdinand the eldest, to the throne of Leon, was formally recognized; and in little more than thirty years his claims indissolubly united the dominions of his father and grand-father.

Whatever might be the secret aversion of the king of Castille to the new nuptials, he was forced to conceal or suspend his enmity; the power of the Moors had been nourished by the dissensions of the Christians, and to recover the kingdom of Toledo, the Moslems of Africa had obeyed with alacrity the summons of their brethren of Spain. Fourscore thousand cavalry were distinguished by the spirit of the horses and the dexterity of the riders; and the myriads of infantry which slowly followed their motions, are described as fatiguing the eye of the spectator; the innumerable host threatened to overwhelm all resistance; and their common peril united the Christian princes from the mouth of the Tagus to the foot of the Pyrenees. But their confederate forces appeared unequal to the encounter; and the source of their danger pointed out to them the means of their defence.

Towards the conclusion of the eleventh century, the martial nations of Europe had been awakened by Peter the Hermit, to the recovery of the holy land.

land. The impassioned eloquence of the fanatic had been seconded by the exhortations of the Roman pontiff; and in the council of Clermont, pope Urban the second urged the warriors of the west to march to the relief of their brethren in the east. At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide, arose by thousands to redeem their souls, by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their Christian brethren; and to use the words of the princess Anne Comnena, all Europe torn up from the foundation seemed ready to precipitate itself in one united body on Asia; four crusades had consumed in less than an hundred and twenty years, a million and an half of the enthusiasts of Europe, without exhausting the hopes of the survivors; and an engine, which in unskilful hands had been frequently abused, was sometimes employed to the most salutary purposes. Pope Innocent the third listened to the distress of the Christian princes of Spain; his holy eloquence incited to arms the martial nobles of Gaul and Germany; and sixty thousand warlike adventurers beneath their respective chiefs traversed the Pyrenees in quest of spoil and glory; some jealousies between the kings of Portugal and Leon prevented them from joining them; but the armies of Castille, of Arragon, and Navarre, were animated by the presence of their monarchs; and the whole force was united under the walls of Toledo. Implacable against the enemies of Christianity, and still more so against those who were rich and impotent, the pious warriors of Gaul and Germany were with difficulty dissuaded from plundering the Jews who dwelt in the suburbs of Toledo; and the first proof of their zeal had nearly been displayed against the subjects of a prince to whose succour they had been invited; they quitted with reluctance the tempting prey, and in their march
overturned

overturned the walls of Melagon; those of Calatrava were defended by a brave and numerous garrison which, though compelled to abandon the town, still displayed the standard of Mahomet on the citadel. The confederate princes of Spain were unwilling to consume their strength in a tedious siege; they proposed terms of capitulation; and a safe retreat with their most valuable effects was offered to the garrison, and accepted. But the French and Germans had been taught that it was meritorious to shed the blood of infidels; they were not easily restrained from violating the treaty; and their murmurs accused the lenity of their allies, as a desertion of the Christian cause. The wealth of Calatrava might yet have appeased their discontent; but the king of Castille opposed with firmness their insolent clamours; and their ardour for an enterprise, which was neither recommended by blood nor spoil, gradually subsided. They complained of the heat of the climate; they proclaimed their intentions to return; and deaf to the remonstrances and sollicitations of Alfonso, pointed back their disorderly steps towards the Pyrenees.

Arnauld, archbishop of Narbonne, and Tihbaud de Blacon, whose zeal for religion was more pure, or whose thirst for glory more strong, of the chiefs of Gaul and Germany remained alone beneath the banner of the cross; but the royal leaders, though their numbers were diminished by the desertion of their allies, still pressed forward to victory; they besieged and reduced the town of Alarcon; reviewed and reposed their followers at Salvatierra; and instead of attempting to force the passes which the Moors had occupied, under the direction of a shepherd they explored a new route across the mountains of Sierra Morena. As they descended into the plains beneath, they beheld the banks of the Guadalquivir, between Jaen and Baeza, whitened

ed with the innumerable tents of the infidels. Two days were allotted to recruit their strength which had been exhausted in the toilsome march ; on the third they obeyed with alacrity the signal for action. Near Toloso in firm order the Moors awaited their charge ; the choicest bands of Africa and Granada were stationed in the centre ; but some distrust of their own numbers and valour must have prevailed ; and the iron chain that was stretched along their front, revealed their secret doubts or fears. The Miramolin, or Moorish monarch was distinguished from the host of his subjects by his splendid vest and majestic mien. In his left hand he held the koran, with his right he wielded a sabre. The first reminded the Moslems of the joys of paradise which had been promised by their prophet to those who bravely fell in battle ; the last admonished his captains to dread less the swords of their enemies than the indignation of their sovereign. Nor did the Christian leader disregard the arts of superstition ; the first place in danger and honour was claimed by the king of Castille ; and as he spurred his horse to the encounter, the holy cross was exalted before him by the nervous arm of the archbishop of Toledo. In the mutual rage of the conflicting hosts, little room was allowed for the genius of the generals ; and each combatant depended rather on his vigour and the keenness of his own sabre, than on the address of his leader. Yet in a struggle of several hours, though the courage of the Christians was unbroken, their strength began to fail ; they were incessantly assailed by fresh squadrons ; and they panted on the verge of destruction, when they were aroused by the generous despair of the king of Castille ; on that day Alfonso redeemed the former errors of his reign ; as he surveyed the field, he exclaimed a glorious death alone remained ; and was with difficulty withheld from plunging singly
amidst

amidst the Moorish ranks ; his contempt of life was rewarded with victory ; the Castilians were stimulated to a last effort by the example of their prince ; they burst the iron chain, broke through the thick array of the infidels, and scattered in their career, dismay and death. The Miramolin fled from a field which he could no longer hope to restore ; the slaughter of two hundred thousand Moors might fatigue the arms and blunt the swords of the Christians ; but the reader must turn with disdain from the historians who assert that this advantage was purchased with the loss of only twenty-five of the victorious army ; and who in their eager desire to establish the miraculous interposition of heaven, defraud of their just glory the champions of Christ who sealed their faith with their blood.

On the field of Toloso the power of the Miramolin was for ever broken ; yet the immediate conquests of the Christians were few and unimportant. They ravaged or reduced the open country as far as Baeza ; but they in vain pressed the siege of Ubeda ; and after refusing a liberal ransom, they were compelled by hunger to retire from the inauspicious walls. They led back to Toledo an army thinned by famine and disease ; in that city they displayed in triumph, and rewarded their foreign auxiliaries with the spoils of victory ; and after subscribing a treaty of future defence against the infidels, the French repassed the Pyrenees, and the kings of Arragon and Navarre returned to their own capitals.

The remembrance of his danger, seems to have awakened the dormant judgment of Alfonso ; instead of yielding to the impulse of his passions, his conduct was ever afterwards regulated by just and sound policy ; he cultivated the most perfect friendship with the king of Leon ; he mediated between that monarch and the court of Portugal ; and
though

though his satisfaction was transiently clouded by a dearth which afflicted Castille, while he laboured to relieve the distress of his subjects, he beheld the strength of the Moors consumed by intestine dissensions. The Miramolin after his defeat repassed the seas to Africa; a crowd of petty chiefs disputed his sceptre, and dissevered his dominions; and no sooner had the luxuriance of the ensuing harvest restored plenty to their people, than the kings of Castille and Leon marched against the infidels; the first in vain besieged Baeza; but the latter burst open the gates of Alcantara; and as he passed over the stupendous bridge which for eleven hundred years had resisted the impression of time, he might justly admire the eternal monument of Roman architecture.

The prudence and moderation of Alfonso in his latter years, had converted the contempt of his subjects into esteem; but their vows for the continuance of his reign were rejected; and he had scarce shown himself worthy of the crown, before he was bereaved of it by death; he had fixed on the city of Placentia for an interview with his royal kinsman of Leon, to concert the operations of the ensuing campaign; but on his road he was seized with a malignant fever; his last hours were cheered by the spiritual consolation of the arch-bishop of Toledo, who had been his companion in victory, and was his comforter in death; and after naming his widow Eleanor for regent, he expired in the arms of that prelate.

Henry, the son of Alfonso, was but A. D. 1214,
1217. eleven years old when the states of Castille ratified the will of their late monarch, and acknowledged him as their sovereign. He was soon deprived of the protection of his mother, whose health had been impaired by grief, and who was impatient to join her husband in the grave.

The

The loss might have been supplied by the experience of his sister Berengara, who had early been initiated to adversity in the persecution of the see of Rome, and who from her separation from the king of Leon, had deserved the love of the Castilians, by the active and affectionate performance of every social duty. Her natural pretensions were supported by the last testament of Alfonso, who had named her to succeed to the regency in case of the death of Eleanora. But her claims were opposed by the ambition of the brothers of the house of Lara, who, emerging from retirement, asserted the hereditary turbulence of their ancestors. In a national assembly their intrigues prevailed; and the reins of administration were committed to the hand of Don Alvaro de Lara; he might have trampled with impunity on the prostrate laity; but he presumed to invade the immunities of the clergy; their resentment was implacable; the churches resounded with the sacrilegious oppression of Alvaro; and the discontents of the people encouraged the party of Berengara to vindicate her right. Yet amidst the storms which agitated Castille, the address and boldness of Alvaro were conspicuous. By a negociation of marriage between Henry and the eldest daughter of the king of Leon he diverted the latter from espousing the cause of his former consort; in arms he menaced the chiefs who had confederated against his authority; and threatened with the dangers of a siege the sister of his sovereign, when his schemes were broken by a melancholy and unexpected incident; as Henry pursued his amusements, a tile, that had been thrown in sport by one of his youthful companions, pitched upon his head, and was almost instantly fatal to his life, and to the ambitious hopes of Don Alvaro.

The

The title of his sister Berengara was immediately recognized in an assembly of the states; yet the house of Lara did not retire from power without a struggle; but their resistance was overwhelmed by the tide of loyalty; the cities that had been most attached to their faction opened their gates to the queen; and Berengara after having held the sceptre of Castille for a few weeks, resigned it to Ferdinand, her son by the king of Leon, and who had just entered on his sixteenth year.

Ferdinand; who from his virtues obtained afterwards the sacred surname of Saint, ascended the throne amidst the acclamations of his subjects. His tranquil accession seemed secured by the prudence and magnanimity of his mother, by the exile of the house of Lara, and by his natural claims to the protection of his father and neighbour the king of Leon. But the bosom that is inflamed with ambition, is seldom susceptible of the more tender passions; and such was the judgment of Alvaro de Lara when he chose the court of Leon as an asylum against the indignation of his prince: While Alfonso revolved his own aggrandisement, he forgot, or wished to forget, that Ferdinand was his son; and the coronation of the latter was interrupted by the unwelcome intelligence that his unnatural father and his rebellious subject were advancing towards Burgos at the head of a formidable army; the loyalty of the nobles of Castille was the security of Ferdinand; a numerous and gallant body of cavalry was hastily assembled; and Alfonso endured the mortification of abandoning with precipitation an enterprise which had been prompted by injustice; he acknowledged his error, solicited the friendship of his son; and scarce subscribed, before he again violated the terms of reconciliation. Yet his second attempt was equally fruitless with his first;

first ; and his penitence might not have been more permanent, but for the premature death of Alvaro de Lara ; in an hostile incursion that chief had been taken prisoner by the valour, and released by the magnanimity of his sovereign ; his haughty spirit was exasperated by disgrace, and incapable of being subdued by gratitude ; in the second invasion of Alfonso, at the head of a martial train of his adherents, he ravaged his native country and defied his king and conqueror. He obeyed with reluctance and indignation the signal of retreat ; his heart was swelled by conflicting passions ; and rage and despair delivered Alfonso from an injurious counsellor, and Ferdinand from an implacable enemy ; yet the generosity of the king of Castille was conspicuous after death ; and the funeral of Alvaro was celebrated with a magnificence worthy of his birth, by the liberality of a monarch whose life he had repeatedly fought, and whose peace he had incessantly invaded.

The pride of the Castilians was gratified by the marriage of their king with Beatrix, daughter to Philip, who, with his hereditary dukedom of Swabia, had been chosen to fill the imperial throne of Germany. From the couch of amorous enjoyment, Ferdinand was summoned by the cares of sovereignty ; and he had scarce tasted the charms of Beatrix before he prepared to march against the infidels ; his first campaign neither advanced his renown nor extended his dominions ; and after beholding ten thousand of his followers perish by famine beneath the walls of Requena, he was compelled to raise the siege of that place. But the disgrace was soon effaced by success the most brilliant and decisive ; the Moorish king of Valencia, and the chiefs of Baeza and part of Andalusia, consented to become his vassals ; Baeza was surrendered into his hands ; and for ten years, at the conclusion of

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as many campaigns, he led back his followers from the invasion of Valencia, of Murcia, and of Granada, laden with spoil and glory; at the expiration of that term he invested Jaen, which during the turbulent regency of Don Alvaro de Lara, had been recovered by the Moors. The fortifications were strong, the garrison bold and numerous; and Ferdinand yielded to the remonstrances of his generals; and abandoned, though with reluctance, the hopeless enterprise. He had scarce returned to Burgos before he received the intelligence that his father, the king of Leon, after a glorious victory at Merida over the infidels, had breathed his last in a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James, of Compostella. The will of Alfonso displayed in the last moments the inconstant temper of that monarch, which his subjects had deplored throughout his reign; though Ferdinand had been recognized his heir in an assembly of the states, yet he bequeathed his dominions to his daughters, Sancha and Dulcia, the issue of his first marriage; to assert his right, Ferdinand advanced towards the frontiers of Leon; his train was swelled into an army by the Asturian and Gallician nobles who respected the sanctity of their former oaths, or preferred the true interests of their country; all competition was extinguished by the moderation of the princesses Sancha and Dulcia; they renounced their claims; enjoyed in a private station, a princely income; and from the final union of the kingdoms of Castille and Leon under Ferdinand, we may date the future grandeur of Spain.

CHAPTER VII.

Final union of Castille and Leon.—Rise and progress of chivalry.—Orders of St. Jago, Calatrava, and Alcantara.—Exploits of Ferdinand, surnamed the Saint.—He successively reduces the cities of Cordova and Seville.—He meditates the invasion of Africa.—His death.—Four hundred years after he is canonized at the request of the king and states of Spain.—Accession of Alfonso, surnamed the Wise.—He aspires to the imperial crown of Germany.—Distraction of his reign.—Revolt of his son Sancho.—Death of Alfonso.—He is succeeded by Sancho the Brave.—Vigorous measures of that monarch.—He vanquishes his rebellious subjects.—Dies at Toledo.—The queen dowager is supplanted in the regency by Don Henry, uncle of the late king.—Stormy minority and reign of Ferdinand the fourth.—Pretensions of the house of de la Cerda.—Prudence of the queen dowager.—Persecution of the Knights Templars.—They are acquitted in Spain.—Hasty condemnation of two noblemen, by Ferdinand.—Particulars of the death of that monarch.—He is succeeded by his son Alfonso the eleventh.—Defeat of the Christians, and deaths of the regents Juan and Pedro.—Alfonso assumes the reins of government.—He acts with vigour against his rebellious subjects and foreign enemies.—In conjunction with the king of Portugal, he defeats the Moors at Salcedo.—Takes Algezire.—Dies of the plague in the siege of Gibraltar.—Review of his character.

MORE than five hundred years had
 A. D. 1230,
 1252. elapsed since the Christians had emerged
 from their craggy retreats in Asturia, and
 under the conduct of Pelagius ranged themselves
 in battle on the open plain. The success of their
 first enterprises was productive of confidence;
 and their rapid progress was accelerated by the
 divisions and decay of their common enemies, who
 were actuated by jealousy of each other, and were
 enervated by luxury. The descendants of the
 Arabian warriors who marched under the banners
 of Tarik and Musa, had degenerated from the sim-
 plicity, and had declined from the valour of their
 ancestors; their empire, which had been founded
 on fanaticism, had gradually receded in proportion
 as science and learning had advanced; and when
 Ferdinand, the third of the name who ruled over
 Leon, united that kingdom with Castille, the pos-
 sessions of the Moors in Spain were limited to part
 of Andalusia, the kingdom of Granada, and the
 provinces of Murcia and Valentia.

Narrow as these territories might appear, they
 were not suffered to cultivate them in tranquillity;
 that ardour and enthusiasm which had inflamed the
 first Moslems, seemed to have passed from their
 bosoms into those of their adversaries; the spirit of
 chivalry, which has been often considered as a wild
 institution, the effect of caprice, and the source
 of extravagance, diligently traced, must be ascribed
 to the most liberal and generous sentiments. Per-
 petual war, rapine, and anarchy, were congenial to
 the feudal state; and the limited power of the so-
 vereign suffered him not to protect from insult or
 injury, the weak and unarmed. The valour and
 generosity of private persons afforded the most ef-
 fectual defence against violence and oppression; such
 qualities

qualities might naturally have been expected from noble bosoms only, which had long entertained the most lofty and delicate notions of honour; and the sons of peers who could produce four quarters or lines of ancestry without spot or reproach, at first might alone legally pretend to the distinction of knighthood. But a simple knight could impart according to his judgment the character which he received; and a warlike plebeian was sometimes enriched and ennobled by the sword, and became the father of a new race. The ceremony was in its origin simple and profane; the candidate, after some previous trial, was invested with the sword and spurs; and his cheek or shoulder were touched with a slight blow, as an emblem of the last affront which it was lawful for him to endure; but superstition was soon blended with the rites of chivalry; the sword of the novice was blessed by the ministers of religion; his solemn reception was preceded by fasts and vigils; and he was created a knight in the name of God, of St. George, and of St. Michael the archangel. He swore to accomplish the duties of his profession, to check the insolence of overgrown oppressors, to rescue the helpless from captivity, to protect or to avenge women, orphans, and ecclesiastics, who could not bear arms in their own defence; to redress wrongs, and to remove grievances, were deemed acts of the highest prowess and merit. Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, and honour, were the characteristic qualities of chivalry. Each knight was attended to the field by his faithful squire, a youth of equal birth and similar hopes; he was followed by his archers and men at arms; and four, or five, or six soldiers, were computed on an average, as his martial train. He himself constantly served on horseback; his lance was his proper and peculiar weapon; and his steed was of a large and heavy breed. When his long lance

lance was fixed in the rest, he furiously spurred his charge against the foe, and transpierced or overturned in his career the naked bands and light squadrons of the Arabs. Religion, the prominent feature of the age, was conspicuous in the institution; and to recover the Holy Land from the dominion of the infidels, was the pious object of the majority of the knights of Europe. But those of Spain might exercise their valour within their native boundaries; and when Ferdinand ascended the throne, the associations of several of them had obtained the appellation of orders, and were distinguished by the saint they had chosen as their patron, or the spot they had pitched on for their residence.

The military order of St. Jago had been established in Spain towards the close of the twelfth century, under the auspices of Alfonso the ninth; it had been confirmed by the bull of pope Alexander the third; the object of it was to oppose the enemies of the Christian faith, and to restrain and punish those who disturbed the public peace; such an institution, while the open country was not only ravaged by the common enemy but was afflicted by the depredations of private banditti, could not fail of popularity and general encouragement. And in the ensuing century the wealth and importance of the order became so considerable, that according to one historian, the grand master of St. Jago was the person in Spain of greatest power and dignity next to the king. To the vows of poverty, and conjugal chastity, which were pronounced by the knights, was added that of implicit obedience to their grand master; they were capable of bringing into the field a thousand men at arms; if these men were accompanied as was usual in that age, they must, with their followers, have composed a formidable body of cavalry. Eighty commanderies, two hundred priories, and a variety of other benefices had, in
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little more than an hundred and fifty years been accumulated by the order ; and it is not surprising that the command of so considerable a force, the distribution of so ample a revenue, and the disposal of so many offices, should have rendered the person who was intrusted with them scarce less formidable to his sovereign than to the enemies of his faith. The orders of Calatrava and Alcantara, though neither so honourable nor opulent as that of St. Jago, were yet numerous and liberally endowed ; and while they adhered to the purity of their first institution, without becoming the tools to the ambition or resentment of their grand-masters, they must have given an energy to the operations of government which the feeble and divided Moslems were incapable of resisting.

The enterprising genius of Ferdinand suffered not the lance of chivalry to rust in inaction. An army under the command of his brother Alfonso penetrated into the Moorish territories, and passed the Guadiana ; they were surrounded by an host of infidels ; and when they compared their own scanty numbers to the myriads of the enemy, their whole confidence must have been derived from their valour and piety ; on these they relied in the hour of danger ; and such was the unqualified hope they inspired, that had a retreat been practicable, they would have disdained the inglorious expedient. They were ranged in two lines ; they advanced in close order to the charge ; and the dexterity and courage that had been practised in tilts and tournaments, were effectually exerted to assert the glory of their country, and vindicate the purity of their faith. The bosom of the Moorish general was transpierced by the lance of a beardless youth who had been invested with the sacred honour of knighthood on the morning of the action ; his followers were dismayed by his fate ; and the bloody toils of the
Christians

Christians were cheered by the firm belief that they fought beneath the conduct of their peculiar patron St. James. The vision which enthusiasm presented amidst the tumult of the battle, has been preserved by superstition; and the Spanish historians have gratefully commemorated the assistance they derived that day from the presence of their guardian saint.

To avail himself of the weakness of his enemies and the ardour of his subjects, Ferdinand, accompanied by his gallant nobles, took the field, and encamped beneath the towers of Ubeda. The fortifications of that city were not long capable of resisting the weight of his machines; and with Ubeda, a considerable district of Andalusia, abounding in corn, in wine, and in oil, was added to the crown of Castille; yet the exultation of conquest was alloyed by domestic affliction; and while her royal consort pressed the siege of Ubeda, Beatrix had expired at Toro. In a period when the champion of God was equally that of the ladies, and when the emulation of the sons of chivalry was kindled by the approbation of chaste and high-born beauty, the tears of the men stained not the honour of the warrior; and on the loss of Beatrix, the generous nobles of Castille sympathized in the sorrows of their sovereign.

During an entire year Ferdinand suffered not his griefs to be invaded by the sound of the trumpet or the voice of glory; but at the expiration of that term he again assumed his arms; and the duties of the king prevailed over the affliction of the husband. The magnificence of the city of Cordova has been already described; and though with the waning strength of the Moors her meridian splendour must have gradually declined, yet still as the seat of Mahometan government, and the repository of Saracen wealth, she excited the envy and avarice of the Christians. The discontents of some Moorish cap-
tives,

tives, whose fetters were rendered more heavy by the indifference of their countrymen, revealed the weakness of the garrison; a martial band were inflamed by the lustre of the achievement and the richness of the spoil; they marched under cover of a dark night, scaled the outward walls, and intrenched themselves in a quarter of the suburbs; the banner of Christ displayed from the ramparts summoned to their support don Alvaro de Perez, who had followed on their steps with a more considerable force; yet their united strength was inadequate to the completion of the enterprise; the interior part of the city was protected by solid works; and the swarms of the inhabitants which it contained, threatened to overwhelm the daring adventurers. The same messenger apprised Ferdinand of the success and the danger of his troops. He rushed to their succour, and was followed by the most valiant knights and nobles of his court. From the bridge of Alcala he commanded the opposite banks of the Guadalquivir; yet his situation was scarce less dangerous than the condition of those whom he had advanced to rescue; and had the Moorish monarch Aben-Hut pressed forwards at the head of the rapid and innumerable squadrons of Africa and Arabia, he must have crushed his adversary before the armies of Castille and Leon could have been assembled in his defence. But he was deceived and deterred by an insidious and exaggerated representation of the numbers of the Christians; he was distracted by the solicitations of the Moslem prince of Valencia, whose capital was besieged by the king of Arragon; he marched to the protection of his ally; and on his route he fell a victim to domestic treason. His death extinguished the hopes of the inhabitants of Cordova; they beheld the camp of the besiegers swelled by constant reinforcements, every post strongly occupied, and every supply diligently intercepted; famine

famine was not less terrible within the walls than the sword without; and they reluctantly yielded to the double danger. Those whose stubborn spirits still refused to bend to the Christian yoke, were permitted to retire with their effects; but the majority acquiesced under the dominion of their new masters; the cathedral of Cordova was in solemn pomp purified from the profanation of the disciples of Mahomet; and in less than three centuries from the time that it had been erected, the Christian king of Castille and Leon reposed in the palace of Abdalrahman the Great.

The unavailing sorrows of Ferdinand for Beatrix had been abated by time and reason; and the memory of that princess was effaced by the charms of a new consort; Jane, daughter of the count de Ponthieu, was chosen by Berengara to share the bed and throne of her son; the purity of her manners, and the sweetness of her disposition, vied with her graceful shape and the expression of her features. The nuptials were celebrated at Bourdeaux; and the operations of war were suspended by an year of festivity. The insolence of a factious and powerful subject, summoned Ferdinand from the arms of his bride, and no sooner had that monarch vanquished and pardoned Don Diego de Haro, than he took the field against the infidels; Jaen, that had so long resisted, submitted to his arms after a siege of eight months, and the kings of Murcia and Granada consented to become his vassals and tributaries. The wealth and importance of the rich and populous city of Seville inflamed his desires; seated in the midst of a spacious plain which is fertilized by the waters of the Guadalquivir, and which is diversified by vineyards and corn fields, the luxuriance of the country around, and the purity of the air, had recommended it successively to the natives and conquerors of Spain.

It

It had been founded by the Phœnicians, had been extended and adorned by the Romans, and had been the residence of the Gothic kings before they removed their court to Toledo. After the defeat of Xeres it refused to acquiesce under the yoke of the victors; and the patience and courage of the Moslems were tried in the siege and assault of Seville. In the revolutions which had rapidly succeeded the extinction of the house of Ommijah, it had become the seat of an independent government, and was still separated from the crown of Granada, when it tempted the ambition of Ferdinand. Two years were diligently employed in preparations for the arduous enterprise; and the want of a naval force, which must have rendered the design abortive, was removed by the persevering industry of the king of Castille and Leon. Thirteen large ships, and several of inferior size, were built, manned, and equipt under the direction of Raymond Boniface, whose skill in maritime affairs had preferred him to the confidence of his sovereign; and though the most considerable of the vessels in the present age would have been regarded with contempt, yet in that period of naval ignorance, their bulk excited the admiration of the Christians and the terror of the Moslems. The holy armament was not only sanctioned by the blessings of the clergy, but had been promoted by their liberality; and one-third of their tithes was readily granted to break the power of the enemies of their faith. The fleet cast anchor at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, blocked up the squadrons of the Moors, and intercepted all supplies from Africa, while the numerous army of Ferdinand ravaged the open country, and erected his engines against the towers of the devoted city. The king of Granada condescended to serve as his vassal; and the dexterity of the horsemen of Arabia was employed at

at the command of their sovereign to subvert their own religion. The inhabitants of Seville beheld with indignation the banners of Christ and Mahomet blended in one camp, and united for their destruction. Yet though assailed by those who ought to have rushed to their protection, their resistance was long and glorious. The summer and autumn were consumed in bloody but indecisive attacks; and they might reasonably have expected that the inclemency of the winter would have chilled the ardour and compelled the retreat of the besiegers; but every obstacle was vanquished by the indefatigable care of Ferdinand, and the unwearied zeal of his subjects; a perpetual supply of provisions was poured into his camp, which from its regularity assumed the appearance of a new and immense city; stretched over the plain, and covered the ruins of Italica, that has been celebrated for the birth of Trajan, of Hadrian, and Theodosius the Great. The plenty which reigned through the host of the besiegers, insulted the distress of the besieged; yet their spirits were unbroken; and when on the return of spring Ferdinand again assailed their walls, he was encountered with a courage unimpaired by famine, and unshaken by danger. Through a second summer and autumn the defence of Seville was protracted by the steady resolution of her inhabitants; but while her own numbers daily diminished, those of her adversaries increased; her magazines were exhausted; her hopes extinguished; and in the month of November a capitulation was subscribed, and the gates of the city were delivered to Ferdinand; yet the majority of the citizens chose to abandon their ancient habitations rather than live under a Christian master; and if three hundred thousand Moslems left the city to carry their arms and industry into countries that still revered and cultivated the

Koran,

Koran, the triumphal entry of the victor could have been witnessed only by his own forces; and some painful reflections must have arisen as he passed through the deserted streets to view the solitude his success had created.

The constitution of Ferdinand had not been proof against a reign of incessant care and toil; but his mind, superior to indisposition, still displayed its pristine vigour; in his last and most splendid campaign he ravaged or subdued the country from the walls of Seville to the mouth of the Guadalquivir; from the coast of Andalusia he surveyed the opposite shores of Africa; and he revolved the glorious design of planting again the banners of Christ on the towers of Ceuta, and of recovering the southern continent from the arms of the infidels. He solicited Henry the third of England to join in the splendid project; and the refusal of that monarch may rather be ascribed to the weakness of his disposition than to his policy. The disappointment of Ferdinand in the negotiation did not deter him from pursuing the design; he urged the preparations with his wonted industry; a more formidable fleet than had yet issued from the Christian ports of Spain, was assembled; and Raymond, to whose skill and experience it was intrusted, not only insulted the coasts of Africa, but obtained a considerable advantage over the Moorish squadrons which had ventured to engage him; the king received the intelligence with undisguised exultation; but the strength of his body could no longer keep pace with the ardour of his mind; he laboured under the fatal weight of a dropsy; the arts of medicine had been fruitlessly exhausted to procure him relief; and as a Christian and an hero he prepared to meet his approaching end. His last words exhorted his son to govern with equity and moderation; and he expired in the sentiments of piety and

and resignation ; his memory was long revered by a grateful people whose happiness he had invariably consulted. Above four hundred years afterwards, Clement the tenth yielded to the solicitations of the states and king of Spain ; the name of Ferdinand was inscribed by the Roman pontiff among the long list of saints ; and the calendar, which had been so frequently disgraced by lazy monks and wild fanatics, received a lustre from the addition of a prince whose virtues had promoted the prosperity of his subjects, and had extended the influence of the Christian religion.

Yet it is probable Ferdinand expired not
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1284. too soon for his glory, as the hostile coasts of Africa, on which the reputation of his successors has so often been wrecked, might have proved fatal to his fame. His sceptre descended to his son ; and the *epithet* of Wise, which Alfonso the tenth had already attained, might inspire his subjects with the most pleasing expectations of his reign. But his hours had been wasted in unprofitable lucubrations ; he was versed in every science but that of governing ; and the royal grammarian and astronomer, who might have claimed the admiration of the academy, was exposed to the contempt and ridicule of the state. He engaged in and abandoned every enterprise with the same inconsiderate and disgraceful facility ; his vain pretensions to the province of Guienne, provoked an open rupture with Henry the third of England ; and though the harmony of the courts was restored by the mediation of the Roman pontiff, and by the marriage of Eleanora, the sister of Alfonso, with Edward the son of Henry, yet in peace the subjects of the former monarch groaned beneath all the consequences that they would have experienced from a wide and unsuccessful war ; new taxes were devised and imposed ; the value of the coin was diminished ;

minished; and every expedient was employed which could swell the royal coffers. The fervour of religious enthusiasm might support his people under their accumulated burdens; and they might fondly hope that the splendid capitals of Fez and Morocco, which been erected by the disciples of Mahomet amidst the wilds of Africa, would be subverted by the Christian sword. But they heard with indignation that the African expedition was renounced, and that their blood was to be lavished in an ambitious competition for the imperial dignity. Alfonso was determined to assert the pretensions which he derived from his mother, the daughter to the duke of Swabia and emperor of Germany. His money, while it lasted, procured him friends and partisans; but it was soon drained by the avidity of the German princes; and after having consumed in the frantic project those treasures which might have expelled the Moors from the peninsula of Spain, his hopes were finally extinguished by the election of Rodolph of Hapsburgh.

While he wasted his hours and wealth in the vain pursuit, his throne was assailed by the intrigues of open and secret enemies; the strength and spirits of the Moors had been restored by peace; and the hopes of the factious had been inflamed by the unsteady hand with which the reins of government were held. Against the former Alfonso took the field in person, and the success which attended his arms may rather be ascribed to the strict discipline which had been established by his father, than to his own military talents. The infidels were defeated; Xeres was surrendered; the cities of Bajar, of Sidonia, Rota, St. Lucar, and Arcos, were evacuated on the approach of the Christians; the kingdom of Murcia sunk into an obedient province; and new colonies to secure her fidelity were established from Castille and Arragon. The resources of
Granada

Granada were yet formidable; but her monarch dreaded to provoke the contest; and consented to purchase a disgraceful peace by the humiliating ceremony of homage.

Whatever satisfaction Alfonso might derive from foreign war, was clouded by domestic commotion; a powerful confederacy had been silently cemented against his authority; the illustrious houses of Lara, of Haro, of Castro, and Mendoza, assembled their numerous vassals and retainers; and their rebellion derived an increase of dignity and consequence from the accession of prince Philip, the brother of the king. Yet they were unwilling to submit their pretensions to the arbitration of the states; they were incapable of withstanding their sovereign in his own dominions; and they withdrew with their followers into the territories of the king of Granada. Near three years their secret intrigues and open incursions embarrassed the counsels and afflicted the frontiers of Castille; and when at length, weary of exile, they consented to accept a pardon, they dictated the terms of reconciliation; and the language of clemency could not disguise the weakness of their prince.

Their unnatural counsels had urged the king of Granada to re-assert his independence; he invoked the assistance of the king of Morocco; and that monarch, who had not been indifferent to the preparations of the Christians for the invasion of Africa, readily listened to his solicitations. He cast anchor in the bay of Gibraltar; was admitted by his ally into the fortresses of Tarif and Algezire; and at the head of seventeen thousand of the choicest horsemen of Africa ravaged the country between the Guadalquivir and the Guadalato. Within the walls of Eciza, Nugnez de Lara might have derided his impotent attacks; but he was desirous of effacing by some splendid achievement the remen-

remembrance of his former revolt ; and he rushed forth at the head of his martial garrison to encounter the invaders ; he was oppressed by their superior numbers ; an honourable death was all that was allowed him ; and his head was transmitted by the king of Morocco as the trophy of his victory to his ally of Granada ; with the same temerity and the same fortune, the archbishop of Toledo, near the walls of Martos, in Andalusia, had charged the forces of Granada ; his valour could not atone for his imprudence ; he perished in the bloody conflict ; and the appearance of Don Lopez de Haro, at the head of a vigorous reinforcement, preserved alone the Christian army from total destruction. He recovered the cross from the hands of the infidels ; but the strength and spirits of the Christians had been broken in the beginning of the day ; and the signal of retreat that was reluctantly given by the general, was obeyed with disgraceful alacrity by the soldiers.

The intelligence of the defeat and distress of the Christian army, had quickened the steps of Ferdinand, the eldest son of Alfonso ; but as he rushed forward at the head of the chivalry of Castille, his course was arrested by a mortal fever, the effect of his incessant toil and anxiety. His death opened to his brother Sancho the career of glory and ambition ; he assumed the command of the united forces of the Christians ; assembled a strong fleet ; alarmed the king of Morocco for the safety of his own dominions ; and compelled the king of Granada to retire from the walls of Jaen, which he had invested. The popular applause which accompanied his actions inflamed his hopes of royalty ; and in his pretensions to the crown, he overlooked or despised the feeble children of his deceased brother, whose age allowed them not to assert their claim by arms. The infants de la Cerda fought
with

with their mother Beatrix, an asylum in the court of Arragon; and by the voice of the states-general, and the consent of the king, Sancho was called to the certain succession of the crowns of Castille and Leon.

The daring spirit of Sancho rendered him the idol of the army, and his unbounded profusion endeared him to the multitude. In a second and successful war against the Moors of Granada, he established and extended his renown; and in his impatience to ascend the throne, he hesitated not to violate the double duties of a son and a subject. The exigencies of the state or the improvidence of the sovereign, had reduced Alfonso to recruit his exhausted coffers by the most dangerous expedients; and the proposal of raising the denomination of the coin, though ratified by the states-general, was justly considered by the people as a measure the most pernicious, and as a breach of the public faith. Their indignation was favourable to the designs of Sancho; he summoned his adherents to Valladolid, painted in glowing colours the weakness of Alfonso, and the distress of the kingdom; and in an assembly which usurped the title of the states-general, though with affected diffidence he declined the name, he consented to receive the authority of king, and to govern under the distinction of regent.

At Badajoz the unfortunate Alfonso was first acquainted with the resolution of the council of Valladolid, and of the almost universal defection of his subjects. The most considerable cities of Castille and Leon had already opened their gates to his rebellious son; and the title of Sancho to the regency, was formally acknowledged by the kings of France, of Portugal, and of Arragon, who courted his alliance. Palencia alone was confirmed in her loyalty by the magnanimity of Don Alvaro de Lara; and
Badajoz

Badajoz by her steady zeal repaid the confidence of her prince who had committed his safety to her walls. Prudence might have recommended to Alfonso to have resigned a sceptre which he could not retain without involving his country in the calamities of a civil war; and his retreat might have been ascribed to a generous reluctance to turn his sword against his son and his subjects. But every prudent reflection and public consideration were overwhelmed by the passions of the man; Alfonso yielded to the resentment of a king and a father; his ambassadors presented themselves in the court of Morocco, and a Mahometan prince was prevailed upon by policy and compassion to arm in support of a Christian monarch. The Miramolin crossed again the straits; and the town of Zara on the confines of Granada was the scene of interview between the two princes; the king of Morocco yielded to his illustrious suppliant the place of honour; and even the Christians were compelled to acknowledge, in the enemy of their faith, the magnanimity of his spirit. "I treat you thus," said he to Alfonso, "because you are unfortunate; and enter into alliance with you merely to avenge the common cause of all kings and all fathers." Yet a confederacy founded on the purest motives, was far from being attended with the success it merited. The adherents of Alfonso with the forces of Morocco and Granada in vain united in the siege of Cordova; the patience of the Miramolin was exhausted in the tedious enterprise; he reembarked for Africa; and his alliance served only to render Alfonso more obnoxious in the eyes of his Christian subjects.

But the advantages which Alfonso had fondly hoped from the arms of the Miramolin, he derived from the pity of the Roman pontiff; the successors of St. Peter, after an insensible progress

during several ages of darkness and ignorance, had erected their head above all the princes of Europe, and interposed their decrees in the quarrels of the greatest monarchs. The tremendous sentence of an *interdict*, dissolved the bond of domestic and political alliance, and transformed the assassin into the saint or martyr. The thunders of the Vatican were already brandished against Sancho, when he resolved to avert the bolt by submission. He deputed a nobleman who enjoyed his confidence to negotiate a reconciliation with his father; in the anguish of his heart Alfonso had renounced his rebellious son as a stranger to his crown and blood; but he was not proof to the language of repentance; and the pardon of his ungrateful offspring was accelerated by the intelligence that he languished under a dangerous indisposition at Salamanca; the last breath of Alfonso revoked the curse he had denounced; but the will that he had dictated in the hour of resentment still subsisted, and bequeathed to his younger son Juan, the cities of Seville and Badajoz, with the districts under their immediate jurisdiction.

The health of Sancho was scarce restored when he received the news of his father's death; from his former conduct, we may justly doubt how far he sincerely lamented an event which established his authority over the realms of Castille and Leon. In the cathedral of Toledo he received the crown from the hands of the archbishop of that city; among the crowd who poured forth their congratulations on his royal fortunes, the homage of his brother Don Juan was probably the most reluctant; but the spirit of Sancho was known and dreaded; he regarded the will of the deceased king, which would have dissevered Seville and Badajoz from the monarchy, as equally injurious to himself and the state; and though in his

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1195.

his address to the national assembly he spoke with veneration of the virtues of his father, yet he declared his resolution to preserve the kingdom entire against every pretender.

The surname of *Brave*, had been early acquired by Sancho; and he was impatient to signalize his courage against the enemies of his country and his faith. His naval squadrons were joined by those of Genoa; the fleet of the Moors was defeated, and the coast of Africa insulted. The Miramolin had formed and pressed the siege of Xeres; while he daily expected the surrender of that city, he was astonished by the appearance of an hundred sail of Christian vessels in the straits of Gibraltar, and by the return of his scouts who had already descried the banners of the Christian army; he abandoned the siege with precipitation; and retired within the territories of the king of Granada; his retreat was conducted without order, and effected with difficulty; and Sancho was defrauded of the glory he had anticipated from the total destruction of the infidel host, by the disobedience and intrigues of a powerful and factious subject, and an ambitious and envious brother.

The wealth and influence of the illustrious house of Haro had more than once excited the jealousy, and supported them against the resentment of their sovereigns; they had been frequently suspected; they had sometimes been trusted; and during the commencement of the reign of Sancho, he had lavished, with an impolitic prodigality, every office and honour on Don Lopez de Haro. With the title of count, he united the important trusts of high-treasurer, and prime-minister; the troops and government of the province of Andalusia were committed to his brother Diego; and he was raised to an alliance with royalty by the marriage of his daughter Maria with

Don Juan, the king's brother. But distrust soon succeeded to favour; and the arrogant disposition and overgrown power of Don Lopez inspired Sancho with the most serious alarms. The latter had lately recalled from exile, and admitted into his confidence, Don Alvaro de Lara, the hereditary enemy of the house of Haro; the pride of the minister was wounded by the promotion of the ancient rival of his family; and he might foresee in the elevation of that noble, his own downfall. But instead of endeavouring to conciliate his prince by submission, he aspired to defend his power by arms; he found a ready confederate in his son-in-law, who still in secret cherished the claims which he derived from his father's will, and readily embraced the first opportunity to assert them by force; on the confines of Portugal, Don Juan assembled his adherents; and in Castille the numerous vassals of the house of Haro obeyed the summons of their chief. Yet the conspirators after having presumed to draw the sword, were weak enough to sheath it; they consented to an interview with the sovereign they had insulted; and in a conference at Alvaro, in return to the demand of the king, that Lopez should evacuate the fortresses he had seized or corrupted, that haughty subject answered by the expressive menace of applying his hand to the hilt of his sword. His insolence was the signal of his death; an hundred nobles jealous of the dignity of their prince started from the seats, and their weapons were instantly plunged into the bosom of the daring traitor. Don Juan was the witness of the fate of his accomplice; but Sancho amidst his resentment respected the blood of his brother; he yielded to the solicitations of his mother; and the ambitious prince, instead of being raised to a throne, found himself immured in a prison.

The

The spirits of the house of Haro were rather exasperated than intimidated by the death of their chief. The brother and son of Lopez retired within the limits of Arragon, and prevailed on that monarch to espouse the title of the infants de la Cerda, the grand-children of Alfonso the tenth, by his eldest son. The greatest part of the province of Andalusia was influenced by Diego to declare in their favour; and the forces of Arragon were swelled by their numerous partisans to an host of an hundred thousand men. The courage of Sancho rose with his danger; and the inferior number of his troops was more than compensated by his own vigour and activity; he suffered not long an enemy to brave him in his dominions; and the king of Arragon trembled in the presence of an hero who had been familiar with victory. His retreat was hastened by the intelligence of domestic commotion; and his steps were closely followed by Sancho, who retorted the invasion of Castille, by ravaging Arragon to the banks of the Ebro.

Badajoz had imprudently declared for the infants de la Cerda; and the obstinacy of her citizens was confirmed by the dread of the inexorable severity of Sancho. But they were incapable of withstanding the fury of the assailants, who were inflamed by the hope of spoil, and animated by the presence of their king. A capitulation was tardily subscribed, and immediately violated; and though the massacre of the inhabitants of Badajoz may be ascribed to the intemperate rage of the soldiers, yet it reflects no small dishonour on the memory of the prince who permitted it.

If Sancho was stern and implacable in victory, he was bold and diligent in war. From chastising his rebellious subjects, he again turned his arms against his foreign and natural enemies. A new fleet had issued from the ports of Africa; but it was

was encountered and defeated by the combined squadrons of Castille and Genoa; and the strong fortress of Tarif, which on an eminence at a small distance from Gibraltar, awed the adjacent country, and invited the invasion of the hordes of Africa, was, after a long siege, wrested from the infidels by Sancho.

The advantages which his subjects might have derived from the martial virtues of the king of Castille, were diminished by their own turbulence and levity. Four years of imprisonment had not subdued the ambitious spirit of Don Juan; and he was less sensible of his life that had been spared, than of the captivity he had endured. He was scarce restored to freedom before he entered into new intrigues; and the crowd of adventurers who listened to his solicitations, enabled him soon to appear openly in arms. To chastise their temerity, Sancho rushed forwards at the head of his faithful nobles; his approach dissolved their confederacy; and the leaders who had been vanquished by the terror of his name, were pardoned by his magnanimity. From the justice of a brother whom he had so repeatedly offended, Don Juan sought an asylum in the court of Lisbon; he was followed by the ambassadors of Sancho; and, banished by the policy or aversion of the king of Portugal, he crossed the seas and implored the protection of the king of Morocco. He was intrusted with the command of a considerable armament; landed his followers on the coast of Andalusia; and in the siege of Tarif he stimulated the ardour of the infidels by the promised plunder of a Christian fortress. He was repulsed by the valour and vigilance of the governor Alonso de Guzman, whose steady mind in the discharge of his duty was indifferent to every other consideration. His infant son had fallen into the hands of Juan; and was by the command of that prince

prince exposed under the walls of Tarif, with the painful admonition, that the surrender of the fort could alone ransom the life of the child. "If," replied Guzman, as he threw indignantly his sword to the inhuman ruffian, "if you who were born a prince, and educated a Christian, dare commit so foul a crime, know that I not only prefer the loss of my son to that of my honour, but dare furnish you with a weapon for the murder you meditate." The Moors and Christians in silent admiration at his heroic spirit awaited the event. But the heart of Juan was incapable of approving the virtue he had never felt; and in the presence of the father he plunged his dagger into the bosom of the unfortunate victim.

Without shaking the fortitude of Guzman, Juan beheld himself the object of general detestation; the avenger of his people's injuries was at hand; and the banners of Sancho were no sooner descried, than the precipitate retreat of the inhuman assassin proved, that a timid and cruel spirit are in general nearly allied. After the failure of an enterprise, for the success of which he had confidently answered, he ventured not to present himself to the king of Morocco; and in the court of Granada, though he eluded the vengeance of his brother, he could not escape the contempt and abhorrence of mankind.

In action, the daring valour of Sancho had been often applauded; and his conduct towards the faithful and unhappy Guzman, attested that he was not insensible to the softer emotions of the heart. In a letter that expressed his grateful sense of his loyalty, he conferred on him the name of the *Good*; and he lamented, while he invited him to his court, that his own health suffered him not to hasten to Tarif, and to console him in person. Amidst the bloody and disgusting annals of violence
and

and slaughter which the historian is compelled to trace, he dwells with pleasure on the gentler traits which distinguish the character of the man from that of the king; and in the hour of death, Sancho himself must have derived more satisfaction from his generous sympathy for the afflicted Guzman, than from the trophies he had erected over his rebellious subjects and infidel enemies.

That hour already rapidly approached; during eleven years that Sancho had reigned, foreign war or domestic commotion had scarce ever permitted him to lay aside his armour; and his constitution sunk at length under incessant toil and care. He acknowledged the symptoms of inevitable death; and his last concern was to provide for the tranquil succession of his son Ferdinand, whose feeble age was exposed to the factions which had long agitated the kingdom. In the presence of the most illustrious prelates and nobles of Castille, he bequeathed with the distinction of regent, the reins of administration, and the education of the royal infant, to his consort Maria, whose virtues well entitled her to the sacred trust; and at Toledo, the air of which had been vainly prescribed as the last hope of recovery, he expired in the forty-fifth year of his age.

A.D. 1295,
1312. A turbulent nobility who had often revolted against, and always reluctantly submitted to, the rule of a warlike and vigorous monarch, were not likely to acquiesce under the authority of a child scarce ten years old, and the government of an inexperienced woman. Yet in the station that she occupied, the prudence of Maria must have been confessed, and her magnanimity applauded. The pretensions of Don Juan were revived; he even aspired to wrest the sceptre from his nephew; and though the Moors might detest his baseness, their interest prompted them to support

support his claims. The restitution of his honours and estates, which had been attained under the last reign, reclaimed him to his allegiance; the hostile preparations of the king of Portugal were arrested by the cession of some considerable frontier towns; and the powerful houses of Haro and Lara, who had suspended their hereditary enmity to unite against the authority of their sovereign, were reconciled by the redress of those grievances which they had alleged as the objects of their revolt. Yet if, to maintain the public tranquillity, Maria sacrificed the dominions, and circumscribed the privileges of her son, she was not more tenacious of her own rights; and rather than kindle a civil war, she resigned to a new pretender the title and power of regent, which she derived not only from the will of her deceased husband, but from the suffrages of the states-general.

Henry was the third son of Ferdinand, surnamed the saint, by his first queen, Beatrix. In his early youth he had been addicted to, and confided in, the science of judicial astrology; and the allusive prediction, that Alfonso the tenth was to be dethroned by a near relation, had pointed his sword against his brother. By a hasty and disgraceful flight from an adverse field of battle, he eluded the punishment of his revolt; and the asylum which had been denied him in the court of Arragon, he found in that of Tunis. In that station he still maintained a correspondence with the malecontents of Castille, and fomented the factions which distracted the reign of Alfonso; weary of a life of inaction, he embarked at Tunis for the shores of Italy, and engaged in the enterprise of his kinsman Conradin, the last heir of the imperial house of Swabia. That unhappy youth in his endeavour to wrest Sicily from Charles of Anjou, became the prisoner of the usurper; and his execution on a public scaffold

fold extinguished the pretensions of his family. Henry, in the rash adventure, had participated in the misfortunes of his chief; and after the death of Conradin, he found himself plunged into a dark dungeon, and involved in the excommunication of the Roman pontiff, which had been pronounced against those who assailed a throne founded on the decrees of the successors of St. Peter. By the most abject submissions Henry disarmed the resentment of the holy see, and by the intercession of the pope was restored to freedom. After an absence of twenty-seven years he returned to Spain, and found his nephew Sancho seated on the throne of Castille; he was received with the generosity that was due to an unfortunate kinsman, whose former misconduct had been severely atoned by his subsequent sufferings, and he repaid the benevolence of that monarch with the blackest ingratitude. The turbulence of the times was favourable to his ambitious hopes; his guilt had been forgotten, and his vices concealed in exile; and the Castilians remembered only that he was the son of that Ferdinand whose virtues were the object of their adoration. His claim to the regency was supported by the clamours of the multitude, and the general suffrages of the nobility; the prudence of Maria taught her to avoid a competition which might have been fatal to the interests of her son; she abandoned the title and authority she had been invested with; and only reserved to herself the care of the person and education of the infant king.

Henry found but little satisfaction in the possession of a dignity for which he had violated the most sacred obligations. The clouds of civil and foreign commotion gathered on every side, and the throne of Ferdinand was shaken to its very foundation by the fury of the tempest. A secret and formidable league had been concerted by the kings of France, of Arragon, and of Portugal, in support

port of Don Alfonso de la Cerda, the grandson of Alfonso the tenth, by his eldest son Ferdinand; the specious claims of that prince were espoused by the king of Granada, who, amidst the dissensions of the Christians, hoped to extend his own boundaries; the restless spirit of Don Juan prompted him to embark in the confederacy, and the kingdom of Leon and Galicia were to be the reward of his perfidy; the house of Lara was disgusted by the preference that had been given to that of Haro; and every hour swelled the number of the malecontents, and diminished the strength of the royal party.

The designs of the confederates were first announced to the queen dowager and the regent by the success of their arms; and the court of Burgos heard with astonishment the intelligence, that Leon and Galicia had acknowledged the authority of Don Juan, and that Alfonso de la Cerda had been proclaimed king of Castille by the armies of Portugal and Arragon. Had the latter followed the impulse of his own ardour, and at the head of the allied host pressed forwards to the capital, he might have surprised or crushed the feeble son of Sancho, unprepared for flight or resistance. But he was persuaded on his march to attempt the reduction of the town of Majorga; and the ruinous state of the fortifications encouraged the hope that it could not long withstand the attacks of the besiegers; every deficiency was however supplied by the active zeal of the garrison, faithful in the cause of their prince; the assailants were repeatedly repulsed; their spirits drooped; their ranks were thinned, and their vigour was exhausted by an epidemic disease; the troops of Arragon were the first to abandon the tedious enterprise; and Alfonso himself was the companion of their retreat; his inglorious example was reluctantly followed by the other allies; and from the transient possession of Leon and Galicia,

licia, and from the fond vision of entering in triumph the city of Burgos, Don Juan was reduced to wage a feeble and indecisive war on the banks of the Duero.

On the opposite frontiers, the squadrons of Granada had ravaged the fertile province of Andalusia; and to check their progress, the regent himself took the field at the head of those troops that could be spared from the protection of Burgos. But in the hour of difficulty and danger, Henry was instructed how unequal was his genius to the station he had obtruded himself on. He was defeated in battle; and the presumption with which he had marched to the encounter, was succeeded by the most abject despair; by a treaty of peace that he subscribed, he consented to deliver the strong fortress of Tarif to the Moors. But the honour of the crown of Castille, which had been sullied by the weakness of a man, was vindicated by the firmness of a woman. Amidst the distress of her country, the virtues of Maria shone forth with superior lustre; she exclaimed against the ignominious conditions which had been signed by the trembling hand of Henry; her spirit was applauded and seconded by the states; and in a national assembly it was determined to prefer the chance of war to an inglorious and doubtful peace.

Yet had the allies on the side of Portugal acted with vigour and unanimity, even the prudence and fortitude of Maria must have been oppressed in the unequal struggle. It was proposed in the camp of the confederates, instead of wasting their strength in the reduction of the frontier towns, to penetrate into the heart of Castille, and invest the king and his mother in Valladolid; the flower of the Castilian nobility were distant and engaged in the defence of Andalusia, and the enterprise appeared not more glorious than easy; but it was frustrated by

by the returning loyalty of Don Juan de Lara, who declared his resolution not to act immediately against the person of his king; his scruples embarrassed his associates; and the languor with which they prosecuted the war, sufficiently evinced that they only waited the favourable moment to conclude a peace.

On that event, amidst the din of arms, the mind of Maria had been intent; the character of Henry stood forth in its true colours; he was haughty, fickle, and turbulent; cruel and avaricious; abject in adversity, and insolent in prosperity; and the queen dowager rose in proportion as the regent sunk in the opinion of the public. Beneath her auspices, a negotiation was opened with the court of Lisbon, and a double marriage was concluded between Ferdinand and his sister, and the daughter and the son of the king of Portugal. The nuptials of the daughter of Don Juan de Lara with the regent himself, received that powerful family to their obedience; and though the king of Granada insulted or ravaged the open country, he was repulsed with loss from the walls of Jaen; and was obliged to retire within his own dominions without achieving any permanent or important conquest.

After recruiting an army which had been broken with toil and disease, James, king of Arragon, had taken the field with the fairest prospect of success. His first operations were equal to his most sanguine expectations. He over-ran the province of Murcia; and Alicant, whose situation on the shores of the Mediterranean still attracts the eye of commercial adventure, consented to receive a garrison, and to acknowledge the authority of the king of Arragon. That monarch encountered a more obstinate resistance in the siege of Lorca; had not the counsels of the queen-dowager been secretly embarrassed by the envy of the regent, he must either have abandoned

done the enterprise with disgrace, or staked his fortune in a field of battle. But Henry marched with reluctance to promote the glory of Maria; his intrigues retarded the steps of his companions; and before the banners of Castille were displayed on the banks of the Guadalquivir, Lorca had surrendered. The fame which the queen-dowager had been defrauded of by the mean jealousy of the regent, she derived from her own fruitful genius. She fomented in Arragon the spirit of discontent; and the rising disaffection recalled James to guard his own throne; on his retreat he offered to evacuate all his conquests in Murcia, with the single exception of Alicant; but the proposal was rejected as unworthy the dignity of the crown of Castille; and his ambassadors might be astonished at the magnanimity of the queen-dowager in the reply, that his restoring all the places he had seized, could alone prove the foundation of an honourable and permanent peace.

Had the counsels of Maria neither been embarrassed by intrigue nor revolt, she probably would soon have compelled the king of Arragon to have subscribed the conditions she had dictated. She called into action the power of the nation; and the train of gallant nobility that accompanied her to Valladolid, and in the assembly of the states supported her interests, impressed with fear the prince Don Juan, who abandoned his vain hope of reigning over Leon and Galicia, and renewed his homage and oath of fidelity to his sovereign. The timid Juan was terrified into obedience, the venal Henry was bribed into compliance; his death soon after delivered Maria from a formidable rival and a faithless associate; and the moment seemed arrived when undisturbed by factious competition, she might vindicate the glory of her country, and train the inexperienced youth of her son to prove the

the terror of his enemies and the delight of his subjects.

But the fond illusion, if Maria indulged it, was soon dissipated; some differences which threatened the tranquillity of Castille on the side of Navarre, had summoned her to Victoria; and she returned exulting in the success of her negotiations abroad, to endure the mortification of finding her power undermined at home. The ear of Ferdinand had been poisoned by the artful representations of the prince Don Juan, and the house of Lara; they maliciously contrasted his own situation with that of his mother; and he was taught to dread as an enemy, the only person whom he could rely on as a friend. He declared his resolution to assume the reins of government. In celebrating his marriage with Constantia, the daughter of the king of Portugal, he displayed the pomp, and asserted the authority of a sovereign; and the multitude, ever prone to change, and intoxicated with the desire of a new administration, applauded his presumption; the city of Valladolid alone remained firm to the party of the queen-dowager, whose judgment they had so long experienced; the inhabitants shut their gates against the troops of Ferdinand; and it was only to the remonstrances of Maria herself that they yielded, and consented to receive a royal garrison; but their indignation survived their submission; they forbade their deputies to appear in the assembly of the states; and refused to sanction by their presence the measures which they could not approve.

Maria would have been unworthy of the reputation she had acquired, had she attempted by force to constrain the inclinations of her son; and she would have been insensible to the feelings of a mother, had she remained a silent spectator of his imprudence; she expostulated, but she expostulated in vain; and against her advice, the king of Castille

tille agreed to accept the king of Portugal as umpire between himself and the king of Arragon. The decision of the royal arbitrator was such as the queen-dowager had foreseen and foretold; the Segura, which intersects the province of Murcia, was fixed on as the boundary of the dominions of Ferdinand and James; and with the important city of Alicant, the country to the north of that river was dismembered from the crown.

The pretensions of the infants de la Cerda might yet interrupt the repose of Ferdinand; and to extinguish the embers of civil discord, that monarch consented to resign to the eldest, Alfonso, the cities of Moncon and Tormes, with several towns, the revenues of which afforded him an ample maintenance; to the youngest, Ferdinand, he promised an income equal to that which had been allotted for a prince of Spain; and the brothers, after receiving hostages for their security, appeared at court, and submitted to the ungrateful ceremony of homage.

It would have been extraordinary indeed had not the weakness and concessions of the king of Castile multiplied the number of the factious and ambitious. The hereditary enmity of the houses of Haro and Lara was again suspended, that they might brave with impunity their sovereign; and though the former was reconciled by the grant of the important province of Biscay for his life, the latter still maintained a dangerous independence in arms, and allured the prince Don Juan to his party. Yet Don Juan had scarcely betrayed the cause of his royal kinsman, before he himself was deserted by the family of Lara, who solicited, and readily obtained as the reward of their perfidy, the pardon and favour of Ferdinand.

The uninteresting annals of domestic discord and treachery are transiently varied by a feeble but foreign

foreign war ; through the mediation of the queen mother a new reconciliation was effected between Don Juan and the king ; and Ferdinand embraced the moment of tranquillity to march against the natural enemies of his country and religion. He surprised the fortress of Gibraltar, the importance of which was then but slightly known ; yet he failed in his attempt on Algezire ; and the ill success of that siege, and the fresh intrigues of the prince Don Juan, induced him to listen to the overtures of the king of Granada, and in consideration of a considerable sum of money to subscribe a peace with the Moors.

The majesty of Ferdinand had been often insulted by the turbulence, and his confidence frequently abused by the professions of the prince Don Juan ; yet in the revenge that he meditated, he should not have forgotten his own character. And when instead of the sword of a sovereign he condescended to employ the dagger of an assassin, he revealed the weakness of his government, and forfeited what yet remained of the esteem of his subjects. The nuptial feast of his sister with the duke of Brittany, was to have been polluted with the blood of a kinsman ; but the design had not been so secretly concerted as entirely to escape the suspicion of the destined victim ; on the first alarm Don Juan withdrew abruptly from court ; proclaimed the cause of his flight ; and derived some share of popularity from the general abhorrence of the treachery of Ferdinand.

From the moment the king had assumed the reins of administration, the counsels of Maria had been disregarded ; and it was not until he was alarmed by the preparations of Don Juan, that he condescended again to solicit the mediation of his mother ; the virtues of the queen dowager had secured the respect of all parties ; on her assurances

of safety Don Juan returned again to court, and the public harmony was re-established.

It was not only the court of Spain that was disgraced by perfidy and cruelty; the persecution of the knights templars excited the attention of all Europe. During the first fervour of the crusades, that order, by uniting the popular qualities of devotion and valour, had rapidly advanced in credit and authority; their services in the recovery and defence of the Holy Land, had been repaid by the piety of the Christian inhabitants of Europe; but in France especially their acquisitions had extended through every province, and enabled them to support a royal magnificence. The abuse of their riches had in time relaxed those virtues which first preferred them to esteem; and instead of braving the dangers of martial pilgrimage, they chose to enjoy their opulent revenues in ease and luxury. Of illustrious birth, and according to the custom of the age without any tincture of letters, they scorned the ignoble occupations of a monastic life, and passed their time in the fashionable amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. But though this conduct had diminished the respect they had once possessed, yet the immediate cause of their destruction in France proceeded from the rapacious and vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair. They were accused of every species of sensual vice that degrades human nature, and every act of impiety which could prove offensive to religion. But their accusers were two of their brethren condemned by the order to perpetual imprisonment for their profligacy, and who obtained their forfeited lives from the secrets they affected to reveal. The doubtful evidence was readily received by the tyrant; and above an hundred unhappy gentlemen on the rack were tortured to confess the justice of the charge; several supported their agonies with unabated constancy;

stancy; but the majority yielded to the excruciating anguish, and signed the declaration of their own criminality. Yet they were no sooner released from the engines of torture than they retracted the confessions which had been extorted from them. But the avarice and resentment of their persecutor was deaf to every remonstrance; their estates were confiscated; and without the form of trial fifty were condemned to, and suffered death with manly fortitude; the grand-master, with the three great officers, were in the presence of their royal oppressor consumed by a slow fire; and asserted with their last breath the purity of their conduct. Their firmness commanded the belief of the people; but the barbarous injustice of Philip was sanctioned by the sentence of his creature pope Clement the fifth, who then resided in France; and who, without examining a witness, or making an enquiry into the truth of facts, by the plenitude of his apostolic power abolished the whole order.

A greater degree of moderation and equity prevailed through the councils of Spain; the charges against the order were heard; but they were heard with impartiality; and the knights were acquitted by the unanimous voice of their judges. Yet though in their decision the latter disregarded private views and public clamour, they could but vindicate the reputation of the accused; the decree of the Roman see was irresistible; the order was dissolved; the knights were distributed into several convents, and their possessions were by the command of the pope transferred to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, whose poverty had preserved un sullied the purity of their professions, and who still distinguished themselves by their martial enterprises against the disciples of Mahomet; yet the states-general of Spain eluded in part the holy judgment; they represented their own situation;

his presence, yet the chief command in the hour of battle was entrusted to the experience of Osmyñ. The right of the Christians was led by Don Juan; and in the front of the left was displayed the banner of Don Pedro. Their rival exertions long resisted the superior numbers of the Moors; and if we may rely on the credit of Mariana, they sunk at length without a wound, and expired exhausted by the slaughter of their enemies. But we may safely venture to reject the partial narrative, which might gratify the vanity of the chivalry of Castille, but cannot command the belief of posterity; and the regents were undoubtedly involved in the general carnage of the Christians. A wretched remnant escaped under cover of the night to relate the fate of their brethren. The calamities of war were retaliated on the vanquished; from the walls of Granada the victorious torrent rolled on to those of Jaen; and from the stream of the Oro to the northern banks of the Guadalquivir, the fertile fields of Andalusia were converted into a desert.

The progress of the infidels might still have been checked by the unanimity of the Christians; but the death of the regents opened a new scene of dissension; and the reigns of administration were disputed by four powerful competitors, Don Philip, the uncle of the king; Don Juan Emanuel, who had married the daughter of the king of Arragon, and commanded on the frontiers of Murcia; Don Juan, son to the regent of the same name, and who from the loss of an eye in his infancy was distinguished by the epithet of the *Deformed*; and Don Alfonso de la Cerda, who, thrust aside from the throne, without the title aspired to the authority of king; each was supported by numerous vassals and adherents, and each was indifferent to the means by which he could attain the object of his ambition. In vain did Maria exert her influence and address to controul their presumption, or conciliate their regard;

gard ; in vain did the Roman pontiff interpose to repress their discord ; the constitution of the former was unequal to the struggle, and incessant anxiety extinguished the expiring taper of life ; while the latter was instructed that the thunders of the Vatican were more efficacious in kindling than suppressing the flames of civil commotion. Regardless of his censures, the rivals exerted every engine of fraud and force ; and Alfonso de la Cerda, and Juan the Deformed, sooner than suffer the natural claims of Don Philip to prevail, abandoned their own, and declared in favour of the party of Don Juan Emanuel.

During thirteen years from the death of Ferdinand, the kingdoms of Castille and Leon had experienced all the calamities which flow from faction and anarchy. But in the lapse of that term the understanding of Alfonso had rapidly advanced and far surpassed his age ; in his fifteenth year he proclaimed his resolution to break the shackles he had been held in, and to claim the rights of a king. The distracted state of the nation was favourable to his intentions ; in a general assembly at Valladolid his authority was recognized ; the hopes of the competitors expired or were concealed in the presence of their lawful prince ; and Alfonso the eleventh beheld a transient calm succeed the tempests which had afflicted his minority.

Yet the prospect was soon again overcast ; the discontent of Don Juan Emanuel was no longer concealed ; he withdrew from court ; to attach Don Juan the Deformed effectually to his interests, he proposed to bestow on him the hand of his daughter Constantia ; and the formidable alliance must have overshadowed the lustre of the crown. The character of Alfonso will not suffer from the artifice which he descended to at this critical moment ; he affected himself to be sensible of the charms of Constantia, and

and of the merits of her father; he intimated that policy as well as inclination prompted his union with the daughter of so powerful a subject; the stratagem was attended with the effect he expected; and on the first rumour of the passion of the king, Emanuel flew to Burgos to renew his oath of fidelity and allegiance.

While the nobles of Castille preferred in arms their own claims, or supported those of their chiefs, every species of disorder had multiplied throughout the kingdom; large bodies of banditti violated the public peace, and in contempt of the laws levied their contributions not only on individuals but towns and cities. To restore the tone and vigour of the law was the first object of the royal attention; with a small band of disciplined troops Alfonso flew from province to province; explored their retreats in the depths of the forests and mountains; and though the immediate execution of the offenders has been construed into cruelty, yet it must be remembered, that the justice of a king admits not of the compassion which adorns a subject; and that lenity to the guilty, is too frequently an injury to the good.

From the severity of their monarch, the needy and desperate found a refuge with Don Juan the Deformed; and the numbers of daring adventurers inured to blood and rapine who flocked to the standard of that prince, enabled him to brave the vengeance of his king. His negotiations were extended to the courts of Arragon and Portugal, and he urged Don Alfonso de la Cerda to resume his pretensions to the crown. His intrigues eluded not the vigilance of his sovereign; and Alfonso, after having in vain endeavoured to reclaim him to his duty by the most liberal offers, determined to deliver himself from his factious and enterprising spirit by a decisive though dishonourable blow. In
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the execution of the design, his address rather than his integrity must be commended; he proposed to give him in marriage his sister Eleanora; and the presumption of Don Juan induced him to accept the invitation of his king, and to present himself at Toro; he came attended with a train which resembled rather the army of a powerful sovereign than the establishment of a private person. But his confidence in his strength was fatal to his life; as he passed through the royal apartments, he was assailed by a chosen and determined band; two gentlemen who accompanied him, and attempted to draw their swords in his defence, shared his fate, and were extended lifeless on the ground; the hall of audience was thrown open, and Alfonso from his throne avowed the orders he had issued; he represented Don Juan as a traitor too great for the laws, and declared that his blood alone could have prevented an immediate and dangerous civil war. The clamours of the multitude were hushed by the imperious voice of their sovereign; the adherents of the unhappy victim were happy to conceal their attachment in silence; but the bonds of society were loosened by the fatal expedient; and when a monarch can have recourse to the practice of an assassin, the most virtuous of his subjects have reason to tremble equally with the most guilty.

The first to dread his fate, and to attempt to avenge it, was Don Juan Emanuel, whose sword had been drawn successfully against the Moors, but who on the intelligence of the death of Don Juan the Deformed, signed a private peace with the king of Granada, and trusting to the strength of his castle of Chinchilla, and to the number of his vassals, erected the standard of revolt. His rebellion dissolved the hopes of his daughter Constantia; and that lady, who had already borne the title of queen, beheld herself a prisoner in a city which

which she had fondly regarded as the capital of her future power and splendour. The haughty spirit of Emanuel was exasperated to fury by the insult ; he obtained from his father-in-law the king of Arragon, a promise of support ; with the forces that he could hastily assemble he laid waste the frontiers of Castille ; and his resentment to the sovereign was proclaimed in his barbarous warfare against his people.

But the spirit of Alfonso was not to be braved with impunity ; in open war or secret confederacy his valour and vigilance extorted the admiration of his enemies ; by land or by sea, on horseback or on foot, in every encounter his genius and courage shone conspicuous. The piratical squadrons of the Moors had issued from the ports of Africa, but they were attacked and defeated by the fleets of Castille ; the cities of Zamora and Toro had revolted ; they were quickly reduced and severely punished ; Don Alvaro Nugnez Osorio, who had enjoyed the entire confidence of his master, was the first to desert him in his distress ; the ungrateful favourite was stabbed by the command of the king in the midst of his retainers. A new king of Arragon had succeeded to the father-in-law of Emanuel ; and was readily persuaded to desert the cause of that chief ; a negotiation was entered into with the court of Lisbon, and the marriage of Alfonso with the daughter of the king of Portugal secured to the former a powerful and faithful ally.

Yet the bosom of Alfonso was less susceptible of private revenge than of public glory ; he still offered to Emanuel the free pardon of his guilt, and the restoration of his estates and honours ; and urged him, instead of weakening by his obstinacy, to strengthen by his union the common cause, and to march in conjunction with him against the infidels. The refusal of the haughty rebel could not check the

the ardour of Alfonso; Spain resounded with his preparations; and the court of Granada was astonished and dismayed by the rumour of the fleets and armies he had assembled; the prudence of Mahomet, the successor of Ismael in the throne of Granada, instructed him to prevent by submission a contest which threatened the total subversion of the Moorish power. His ambassadors were dispatched to Seville; and the humiliating conditions they subscribed, sufficiently reveal the terror with which they were impressed; the king of Granada consented to hold his sceptre as the vassal of the crown of Castille; and to acknowledge the supremacy of his lord by the annual tribute of twelve thousand pieces of gold.

The terms which had been extorted by fear, were violated with the return of confidence. It was from Africa alone that Mahomet could hope for succour; he crossed the straits; represented in the court of Morocco the increasing power of Castille, and was heard with attention; seven thousand horsemen were granted to his immediate distress; a more considerable detachment followed under the conduct of Abu Malic, the son of the king of Morocco; the transports which conveyed them eluded the vigilance of the Christian fleet; the king of Granada renewed his alliance with Don Emanuel; and the siege of Gibraltar was instantly formed by the Moslem host.

The allegiance of the house of Lara had been corrupted by the intrigues of Don Emanuel; and at the moment that Alfonso beheld his dominions exposed to foreign invasion, he found his resources distracted by civil commotion. At the head of the troops which yet were faithful to their sovereign, he pointed his steps towards Gibraltar. In his march he was solicited to an interview with the disaffected lords; he accepted their invitation; and superior
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to fear, entered without attendants the castle of Becerril, which was garrisoned by their followers; they were awed by his magnanimity; and at the feast that he shared without reserve, they engaged on the payment of a sum of money to return to their duty; the engagement was fulfilled on the side of Alfonso, but basely broken by Emanuel, who employed the gold he had received in fomenting new cabals, and making new levies against his sovereign.

The speed with which Alfonso had advanced to the relief of Gibraltar, only exposed him to a fresh mortification; he was arrived within sight of that fortress, when he was informed the governor had meanly betrayed his trust, and surrendered it to the infidels. He aspired to recover it; but while he yet pressed the siege with the fairest prospect of success, he was recalled to the centre of his dominions by the cries of his subjects. The contagion of revolt had reached the house of Haro, and Don Alonzo, the chief of that family, with Don Emanuel, and Don Juan de Lara, had started to arms at an appointed signal, and marked their different routes through Castille with slaughter and devastation.

We may easily believe it was with reluctance and indignation that an high-spirited prince like Alfonso, signed a treaty with the Moors, which left Gibraltar in their possession, and released the king of Granada from the humiliating condition of tribute. But the danger was pressing; and while his kingdom was rent by intestine discord, he could not hope to triumph over his foreign enemies. He had no sooner subscribed the peace, than he marched with diligence to the protection of his capital. As he advanced, the confederates retired; but they were not able to elude the vengeance of an injured monarch. The precipitate flight of Don Juan

Juan de Lara preserved indeed his life; but his estates were laid waste or confiscated; and his fortresses in the mountainous province of Biscay were attacked and reduced.

A severer doom awaited Don Alonzo de Haro; he was surprised in his castle, led in chains before his king, and sternly reproached with his guilt and ingratitude; the resentment of his sovereign suffered him not long to languish in doubt, and the second day after he was made prisoner, he was beheaded on a public scaffold.

The factious nobles of Castille heard with terror that the chief of the powerful house of Haro had perished by the hand of the common executioner. Neither the most illustrious extraction nor extensive connexions could secure them from the wrath of majesty; and in the fate of Don Alonzo, Don Juan de Lara trembled for his own. He dispatched a trusty messenger to learn if yet the road to mercy was open; but though the king assured him of his personal safety, he still refused to see him; he was more indulgent to Don Emanuel; and on his reconciliation with that nobleman, he released his daughter Constantia, and consented to, and facilitated her marriage with, his brother-in-law the prince of Portugal.

After so long a period of turbulence, Alfonso might have hoped to have tasted some moments of repose; but his life was destined to incessant toil; and he had scarce sheathed the sword of civil war, before a new enemy arose on the side of Navarre. The king of Castille endeavoured to prevent open hostilities by every offer of accommodation which the dignity of his crown would admit of; but when compelled to take the field, his preparations were carried on with vigour and alacrity. The chivalry of Castille, at the command of their sovereign, consented to march beneath the conduct
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of Martin Fernandez, an officer whose obscure descent they despised, but whose worth they revered. In a field of battle the appointment of Fernandez was approved ; the troops of Navarre were broken or slaughtered ; and the peace that was re-established between the two kingdoms was dictated by Alfonso.

The exultation of the king of Castille at his victory, was allayed by the information that the intrigues of Don Juan de Lara, and Don Emanuel, were still continued. Exasperated by their frequent perfidy, he appealed against them to the assembly of the states ; they were declared traitors by the unanimous voice of the representatives of the nation, who granted at the same time a liberal subsidy to prosecute the war to their entire destruction.

The king of Castille suffered not the weapon to rust which the states-general had trusted to his hand. With a numerous army he invested in the walls of Lerma, Don Juan de Lara. The obstinacy of the garrison, and the strength of the fortifications, protracted the siege ; and Don Emanuel marched to the relief of his associate ; the king advanced to meet him at the head of a select detachment ; the rebels were defeated, and their chief escaped with difficulty from the pursuit of Alfonso ; the victorious king continued the siege of Lerma with unwearied diligence ; the towers of that city were already shaken by his engines ; and Don Juan, baffled in every attempt to fly, anticipated the consequences of unsuccessful rebellion. A last, but slender hope was reposed on the mercy of his sovereign ; and even the stubborn temper of Don Juan was not proof against the clemency he had so ill deserved ; his life had indeed been promised on his submission ; but he was received by Alfonso with a generosity which reflects the brightest lustre

lustre on the character of that prince ; he was restored to his estates and honours, invested with the high dignity of standard bearer of Castille, and during the remainder of his life approved himself a dutiful and grateful servant.

The example of Don Juan de Lara influenced the conduct of Don Emanuel ; whose return to his allegiance extinguished the war which his intrigues had kindled between Castille and Portugal ; a general pacification between the Christian princes of Spain succeeded ; and Alfonso at length found himself at leisure to attend to the progress of the Moors of Africa and Granada.

At Seville the royal standard was displayed ; and the factions which had so long pursued each other with kindred rage, confessed a generous emulation as they marched against the common foe. They penetrated without seeing an enemy to the walls of Ronda ; that fortification, erected on a craggy rock, derided their menaces ; the exhausted country no longer supplied them the means of subsistence ; and they again pointed their steps towards the frontiers of Castille ; but the signal of retreat was scarcely given before a cloud of dust revealed the approach of the squadrons of Granada and Africa. The Moors were animated by the presence of Abu Malic, the son and heir to the crown of Morocco ; and Alfonso with impatience awaited in open field the charge of an adversary who had wrested from him the strong fortress of Gibraltar. In the tumult of the day Alfonso, with Don Juan de Lara, and Don Emanuel, were distinguished above the crowd of combatants. The Moors, incapable of withstanding their rival ardour, fled to an adjacent mountain ; under a shower of stones and missile weapons the steep ascent was climbed by the impetuous Christians ; and so desperate was the resistance of the
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vanquished, and so inexorable the victors, that not a single Moor escaped the promiscuous slaughter.

Whatever tears the king of Morocco might shed over his unfortunate son, were soon dried by the hope of vengeance. His voice aroused the tribes of Africa from their lethargy; the propagation of the koran and the promise of spoil assembled the rapacious disciples of Mahomet; two hundred transports were conveyed by thirty galleys; a favourable wind enabled them to elude the Christian fleet; they were joined by the forces of Granada; and the host which invested Tarif has been computed at two hundred thousand men.

The danger of that fortress was quickly conveyed to Alfonso; but the strength of Castille was unequal to the contest; and to his queen was intrusted the important commission of awakening the court of Lisbon to the common defence of Christianity; the king of Portugal was not deaf to the solicitations of his daughter; and policy quickened his steps at the head of his martial nobility; he was received in Seville with every honour by his son-in-law; but the distress of Tarif allowed not the monarchs to waste the hours in feasts and tournaments; forty thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry, confident in their faith and valour, marched beneath their banners. A thousand horse and four thousand foot cut their way through the lines of the besiegers, and reassured the fainting spirits of the garrison of Tarif; and on the ensuing morning the signal for general action was displayed. On the plains of Salsado the king of Castille charged the squadrons of Morocco, and the king of Portugal advanced against those of Granada; the encounter was long and bloody; and it was not until the conflict had been maintained several hours with various success, that victory declared for the Christians. One hundred thousand Moors fell in the battle, or
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were slaughtered in the pursuit; the king of Morocco fled with precipitation to Algezire, and instantly reembarked for Africa; while the king of Granada with the shattered remnant of his forces, retired within his own territories, and trembled for the safety of his capital.

On the field Alfonso offered to recompense the zeal of his ally with the wealthy spoil and captives of their joint valour. But the generous spirit of the king of Portugal rejected the rich prize; some arms rather curious than valuable were all he could be prevailed on to accept; and after having interchanged mutual vows of amity with his son-in-law, he led back his troops into his own dominions. His disinterested conduct sunk deep in the mind of Alfonso; the private life of the king of Castille had been less pure than his public; interest rather than passion had prompted his marriage with the princess Maria of Portugal; but his heart had been long captivated by the wit and charms of Donna Leonora de Guzman, the widow of Don Juan de Velasco. To her his hours were sacrificed, and his affections devoted; and those who were permitted to approach and gaze on her beauty, forgot the guilt of his attachment in the admiration of his choice. But Alfonso could not be insensible to the ardour with which Maria had served him in the hour of distress; he was penetrated by the generosity of her father the king of Portugal; gratitude supplied the place of love, and religion confirmed his resolution ever after to renounce the licentious pleasures which he had shared with Leonora, and to confine himself to the arms of the lawful partner of his throne and bed.

With his victorious army Alfonso swept the frontiers of Granada, reduced by famine Alcala, and by force Molin; the fortifications of Algezire demanded more weighty preparations; the squadrons

of Portugal and Arragon were readily persuaded to act in concert with that of Castille ; twelve gallies were hired of the Genoese, whose naval skill about the middle of the fourteenth century was celebrated throughout Europe ; these blocked up the harbour, and intercepted all supplies from Africa, while Alfonso regularly invested Algezire by land with an army which might safely defy the feeble attempts of the king of Granada. The eyes of Europe were turned on the enterprize ; the walls were strong, the garrison numerous ; and the thunder of the artillery, the first that had been used in Spain, was heard with astonishment by the besiegers ; but the tremendous effect which was produced by the first discharge, was soon effaced ; and the troops of Alfonso dreaded less the destructive fire of the cannon, than the gradual approach of famine. Six months had tried the patience of the auxiliaries, and exhausted the magazines of the assailants ; hunger already began to be felt through the camp ; and to supply the demands of his allies, and relieve the distress of his own troops, the king ordered his plate to be coined into current money at a higher rate than the common standard. The disgraceful and dangerous expedient was averted by the zeal of the most considerable cities of Spain ; every province freely contributed its proportion in corn, in wine, or in specie ; some pecuniary assistance was derived from the holy liberality of the pope ; and the ardour of the warriors of Spain was rekindled, and their emulation inflamed by the martial nobles of France and England, who hastened to share the glory and hazard of the enterprize.

Yet it was not until the second year, when every offer for raising the siege had been rejected, and the walls of Algezire tottered beneath the incessant strokes of the engines of the besiegers, that the garrison, diminished by famine and the sword, submitted

mitted to propose terms of capitulation. The soldiers and citizens were permitted to retire without molestation; the Christian standard was again displayed on the towers of Algezire; and a truce for ten years was subscribed between the king of Castille, and the monarchs of Granada and Morocco.

The valour and activity of Alfonso had been approved in war, and in peace his courtesy and generosity were admired. Several of the daughters of the king of Morocco had, on his defeat at Salgado, become the captives of the king of Castille; they had been treated by the latter prince with the respect due to their birth; and no sooner was peace restored than they were dismissed with magnificent presents to their father's court; amidst the annals of a sanguinary age, the mind is rarely relieved from the bloody narrative by the contemplation of the more amiable qualities of humanity and politeness; and some praise is due to Alfonso, who, amidst religious and political enmity, was still careful to cherish the generous sentiments of chivalry.

Yet one passion ever rages in the bosoms of kings; and if the courtesy of Alfonso commands our applause, his ambition cannot be defended from our reproach; four years of peace had scarcely skinned over the wounds of war, and the inhabitants of Castille still groaned beneath the double scourge of pestilence and famine, when the royal standard was displayed; and their monarch summoned his martial nobles again to the field. The Moorish banners that streamed from the towers of Gibraltar insulted his pride; and he recollected with indignation that during his reign that important fortress had passed from the hands of the Christians to those of the infidels; without a previous declaration of war he suddenly summoned the garrison to surrender; and urged in person the siege with his usual ardour. But the seeds of disease lurked in the veins of his

soldiers, and the plague soon broke out in his camp ; the remonstrances of his officers could not prevail on him to abandon the enterprise, or withdraw from the scene of infection ; he was the victim of his perseverance ; his blood was tainted ; and he expired in the moment that the distress of the besieged afforded him the strongest assurances of success.

Such was the fate of Alfonso the eleventh, who of the princes that succeeded Ferdinand the Saint, is most entitled to our admiration ; the turbulence of the times he reigned in was his glory ; the factions which had overshadowed the power of the throne were broken by his vigour ; and the foreign enemies of the state who had availed themselves of the hour of civil dissension, were chastised by his valour ; the execution of the chief of the house of Haro awed the haughty spirits of his nobles ; and though the means by which he delivered himself from the incessant enmity of Don Juan the Deformed cannot be justified, yet the confidence that he reposed in Don Emanuel, and the clemency that he extended to Don Juan de Lara, cannot be too warmly applauded. The love of martial fame was his predominant passion as a king ; and to that his life was at length sacrificed, when it would have been most serviceable to his subjects. As a man, his attachment to the fair seems to have been his sole failing ; one son, of the name of Peter, and who had attained his sixteenth year, was his only issue by his consort Maria ; but Donna Leonora had proved more fruitful in his embraces ; and her second son, Henry of Transtamare, was destined to avenge the fate of his mother, and after a long and bloody contest, to ascend, by the destruction of his brother, the throne of Castille.

CHAPTER VIII.

Accession of Peter, surnamed the Cruel.—His perfidy and barbarity.—He is dethroned by his half-brother Henry, count of Trastamare.—He is restored by Edward, the Black Prince.—Is a second time defeated by Henry, and put to death.—Reign of Henry the second.—Is succeeded by his son John.—Pretensions of John to the crown of Portugal.—His defeat at Aljubarrota.—Makes peace with Portugal and England.—Felicity of his general administration.—Account of his death.—His infant son Henry the third is acknowledged king.—Dissensions of the nobility.—Henry assumes the government at thirteen.—His vigorous conduct.—Meditates the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.—His death.—Integrity of his brother Ferdinand.—John the second is proclaimed.—Wise administration of Ferdinand.—He is chosen king of Portugal.—Competition for the regency of Castille.—Long and disastrous reign of John.—Revolt of his son, the prince of Asturias.—Execution of his favourite, Alvaro de Luna.—He dies, and is succeeded by his son Henry the fourth, surnamed the Impotent.—His marriage with the princess of Portugal.—She is delivered of a daughter.—The nobility refuse to acknowledge the child as the king's.—Formidable confederacy against Henry.—He is solemnly deposed at Avila;—and his brother Alfonso proclaimed.—Death of Alfonso.—Treaty between Henry and his nobles.—The king acknowledges his sister Isabella, his successor, in prejudice to the princess Joanna.—Marriage of Isabella with Ferdinand the king of Sicily,

Sicily, and son of the king of Arragon.—Death of Henry.—Ferdinand and Isabella are proclaimed.—The king of Portugal claims the crown in right of Joanna.—He is defeated at Toro.—Death of the king of Arragon.—Ferdinand unites the crowns of Castille and Arragon.

WHEN Peter, whose sanguinary manners affixed to him the surname of Cruel, was acknowledged king of Castille, the memory of his father had prejudiced in his favour the minds of his subjects. The haughty spirits of the nobility had been awed, the power of the Moors had been broken; though the siege of Gibraltar was abandoned, the national honour was preserved; it was to disease that the assailants yielded; they retired slowly and in order; and their enemies were content to observe, without attempting to molest their retreat.

But the fair prospects of tranquillity and prosperity were soon clouded by the passions of Peter himself, and those of his mother; as the consort of Alfonso, the patience and moderation of Maria had been the theme of general praise; as his widow, her vindictive spirit was the source of destruction to her son; she gave a loose to female resentment; and her rival Donna Leonora de Guzman was the unfortunate victim that she claimed.

Though from the battle of Salsado, Alfonso had renounced all amorous commerce with the beautiful Leonora, yet he had not been inattentive to her future safety or interest. He had assigned the town of Medina Sidonia for her retreat; had strengthened it with new fortifications; and had provided it with a numerous and faithful garrison, commanded by

by the gallant Alonzo Cardoneb. Four sons, the fruits of her illicit interviews with the king, had attained to manhood; and if the imbecility of Sancho allowed her not to repose her confidence on the eldest, she must have observed with pleasure that the enterprising temper of the second, Henry, count of Translamare, was supported by the fraternal affection of his brothers Ferdinand and Tello.

By her own feelings it is probable that Donna Leonora judged of the intentions of the queen dowager; and on the first intelligence of the death of Alfonso, she sought refuge within the walls of Medina Sidonia; to that city gratitude or ambition induced several of the most illustrious Castilians to repair; and though in the contest with the power of the crown, Leonora and her adherents would probably have been overwhelmed, yet their resistance would not have been inglorious, and in their deaths they might at least have enjoyed the satisfaction of revenge.

While Peter contemplated with contempt the virtues of his father, he was impatient to emulate his crimes. The same arts which had been exerted to achieve the destruction of Don Juan the Deformed, were practised to accomplish the ruin of Leonora. By the most solemn professions of safety and regard, she was prevailed upon to quit the fortifications of Medina Sidonia; but she had scarce entered Seville before she found herself a prisoner. Her son, the count of Translamare, who by his marriage with the daughter of Don Emanuel had excited the jealousy of the king, by a timely flight to Portugal escaped the orders that had been issued to arrest him; but his brothers, Ferdinand and Tello, were still received with marks of esteem; and while Peter declared himself incapable of protecting Leonora from the just vengeance
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of his mother, he was liberal in his protestations of future regard and kindness to her children.

At Talavera; the palace of the queen dowager was polluted with the execution of her unhappy rival. But the resentment of Maria was not perpetuated to the offspring of the hated Leonora; and her counsels joined with those of the king of Portugal in urging a reconciliation with the count of Transtamare; Peter consented with reluctance, and probably with little sincerity; and Henry could but ill confide in the professions of a court that was stained with the blood of his mother.

The first sanguinary exertion of the royal power might be ascribed to the influence of the queen mother; but it was not long before Peter asserted the independent prerogative of guilt. Rapacious and bloody, he considered the treasures and lives of his subjects as intended for his sole use; and the pertinacity with which they defended the former, was often punished by the proscription of the latter. Yet while the great were satisfied, the clamours of the multitude were disregarded; and it was not until a fatal passion armed the tyrant against his own family, that the public indignation was supported and guided by the most illustrious nobles of Castille.

The birth of Donna Maria Padilla was rather decent than splendid; and her ancestors, in a life of obscure virtue, had either declined, or been excluded from the honours of the state. But nature had imparted every qualification to atone for the deficiency of rank and fortune; her form was small but elegant; her features delicate and expressive; and her countenance was animated by a mind and spirit formed to excite admiration and command respect. Her situation of companion to the wife of Don Juan de Albuquerque, the king's favourite, had exposed her to the sight of Peter; and

and the eyes of that monarch sufficiently revealed the emotions that her charms had occasioned. It is seldom that a favourite is slow in discerning the inclinations of his master; and Don Juan de Albuquerque exulted in a connexion which he flattered himself would secure his own authority over his sovereign. An interview was contrived at Sahagan; and that passion which the beauty of Donna Padilla had inspired, was confirmed by her wit; yet she refused easily to yield to the ardour of her royal lover; a private marriage reconciled the scruples of the lady; and it was as her husband that Peter ascended her bed.

At the moment that the king was rioting in the embraces of Donna Padilla, his mother had been engaged in negotiating an alliance for him with Blanch, the sister of the queen of France. The proposal had been accepted by the court of Paris; it was ratified by Peter; his authority imposed silence on Donna Padilla; and he had scarce bestowed his hand on the latter, before he publicly celebrated with royal magnificence his nuptials with Blanch.

If Peter condescended to sacrifice for a moment to policy, he soon returned to pour out his vows on the altar of love. The influence which Donna Padilla had acquired over him, in a superstitious age was considered as the effect of magic; but we need not have recourse to supernatural causes to account for the dominion of wit and beauty over a youthful and ardent mind. And it is probable that the ascendancy of the fair was established by a prudent silence at the transient infidelities of her royal admirer. Her relations were advanced to the highest posts of honour and trust; the grand-masterships of St. James and Calatrava were transferred by violence to her brothers; and Don Juan de Albuquerque found their rising power overshadow his own.

own. He concealed not entirely his discontent ; his murmurs had reached the ear of his king ; the dark and daring spirit of Peter was unrestrained by the remembrance of former regard, or the dread of immediate infamy. At an interview which he proposed for their reconciliation, he planned the murder of Don Juan and his principal adherents ; but his intentions were suspected or his design betrayed, and Don Juan sought a refuge from his cruelty in the court of Lisbon.

Above fear or shame, from the moment that the king of Castille was abandoned by his former favourite, his reign presents an headlong career of oppression, rapacity, and sanguinary caprice. The unfortunate Blanch was by his orders immured in a prison ; an obsequious council of bishops pronounced a venal sentence of divorce ; and Peter, at the foot of the altar, received in solemn pomp the hand of Donna Joanna, the widow of Don Diego de Haro, and the sister of Don Ferdinand de Castro. The reign of Joanna was not longer than that of Blanch ; in a few months she was repudiated with contempt ; and was doomed to deplore in solitude the unhappy effect of her charms, which had exposed her to the desires of the licentious tyrant.

The pride of the house of Castro was wounded by the ignominious treatment of Donna Joanna ; Henry, count of Transamare, with his brothers Frederic and Tello, could not trust to the professions of a prince whose hands were stained with the blood of their mother ; Don Juan de Albuquerque panted to revenge himself on the family of Padilla ; and the queen mother deplored the injuries of Blanch, who had entered Spain under her auspices. A secret confederacy was formed ; all former enmities were buried in oblivion ; and the sons of Leonora, and her persecutress Maria, were embarked in the same enterprise.

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From Burgos, Blanch had been removed a prisoner to Toledo; even the tyrant could not refuse, or did not distrust her request to offer up her devotions in the cathedral of that city; she entered the holy walls, availed herself of their privileged sanctity, and declared her resolution never to quit them. The inhabitants of Toledo were inflamed by her misfortunes, and their own piety; they arose by thousands, and expelled the royal guards; the news of their revolt was quickly conveyed to the count of Transmare; he presented himself with his associates at the gates, and was received amidst the acclamations of the multitude.

Toro, on the banks of the Duero, followed the example of Toledo; and the power of the party became so formidable, as compelled Peter to descend to the language of negotiation; an interview was appointed at Toro; and while the public hours of the king were apparently occupied in listening to the grievances of the confederates, his private moments were employed in dissolving the league by an artful application to the passions or interests of each individual. Several of the most considerable lords professed their inclinations to return to their duty; with greater constancy Don Juan de Albuquerque adhered to the cause he had espoused; his sudden death was attributed to poison; and in the moment of dismay the king escaped from Toro to the walls of Segovia.

In that city the royal standard was erected, and a numerous army was assembled; and though Peter was repulsed by the prudence and valour of the count of Transmare in an attempt on Toro, he moved with a fairer prospect of success towards Toledo. In his march he proclaimed his intention of recalling Blanch to his bed and throne; he was outstripped by the zeal and alacrity of Henry, who had already entered Toledo, and exhorted the
citizens

citizens to a vigorous resistance; but compassion to Blanch had first excited them to arms; they either feared the resentment or believed the professions of the king, and determined to open their gates; yet before their surrender, Henry had the address to effect his escape, and with the royal treasure gained the friendly walls of Talavera, which were devoted to the will of the queen mother.

The inhabitants of Toledo had soon reason to repent of their credulity; every condition was violated by the tyrant; twenty-two of the principal citizens were executed in his presence; and the unhappy Blanch was committed a close prisoner to the tower of Sigüenza.

The siege of Toro was again formed; the walls were shaken; and the illustrious chiefs of the confederacy escaped from its tottering towers to behold themselves invested in the fortress of the Alcazal. Maria became an humble but fruitless suppliant to her inexorable son for the promise of life to herself and her adherents. She was compelled to trust to his mercy; and though he refrained from parricide, the agony of death must have been slight in comparison to her emotions on witnessing the execution of her most faithful friends. The consort of Henry was among his captives; but the fears or policy of Peter prevailed above his thirst of blood and revenge; and the freedom of her husband was the safety of Joanna.

On the surrender of Toro, the count of Transtamare had quitted Castille; crossed the Pyrenees, and sheltered himself in the court of France; from this retreat he was summoned by the intelligence of a rupture between the crowns of Castille and Arragon; he offered his wrongs and his sword to the king of Arragon; waged a successful war on the frontiers against the tyrant; recovered by the pious fraud of a domestic his consort Joanna; and when
peace

peace was re-established between the rival kingdoms, regained his former asylum at Paris.

Could Peter have moderated his own passions, he might have disregarded the enterprises of his fugitive brother; but no virtue appears to have found place within his bosom, and his reign was one continued series of cruelty, of perfidy, and oppression. After the reduction of Toro, his brothers, Frederick and Tello, had consented to live in peace under his authority; the former was assassinated in the hall of audience in Seville, the latter on board a small bark was saved by a storm from the pursuit of the sanguinary tyrant. Don Juan of Arragon was the kinsman, and had acted as the minister of Peter; he presumed to claim the reward of his services; and he was stabbed as he preferred his request. The guilt of his aunt Leonora was her pity for Blanch, and the cup of poison which she swallowed was prepared by the command of Peter. Wealth, virtue, or noble birth were equally fatal to their possessors; the finances of Castille had been intrusted to a Jew of the name of Levi; the heresy of the royal treasurer might have been overlooked, but his riches could not be pardoned; the warrant for his death was signed; he expired on the rack; the tyrant boasted of the wealth he extorted by his murder; and only lamented that his torments had shortened his life before he had time to reveal the whole of his treasure.

The unfortunate Blanch herself, without friends or resources, might have hoped in prison to have been considered no longer as an object of jealousy. But the injustice of the tyrant was reproached by the existence of the consort he had injured; she was removed to the fortress of Xeres; and the governor was informed that her death was the most acceptable service he could render to his sovereign. He turned with disdain from the proposal; but every

every description of ruffians had been cherished and multiplied under the reign of Peter; a ready minister of his barbarous will was soon found; and the potion that was administered to Blanch for the restoration of her health, was too fatal in its effects to leave a doubt of the hand that prescribed it.

Yet indifferent as Peter appeared to the sufferings of his family and his subjects, he was not totally divested of the feelings of a man; he could inflict death, but he could not protract life; and the premature loss of Donna Padilla transiently avenged the miseries of his people; Castille was far from participating in the sorrows of her sovereign; and fear alone restrained in public that exultation which was inwardly indulged on the fate of the mistress. Yet the grief of the tyrant was transient; affliction had not softened his heart, and every moment presented some new instance of perfidy and cruelty.

Mohammed Barbarossa had usurped the crown of Granada; while the prince whom he had driven from the throne trembled within the fortifications of Ronda for his safety. The domestic enemies of Peter were crushed, and he was impatient to avail himself of the dissensions of the Moors. The lust of spoil supplied the thirst of military fame; and he listened to the insidious intelligence that the wealthy and important city of Cadiz was defended by a feeble and negligent garrison. To surprise it, he detached the grand-master of Calatrava, and Don Henriquez, with one thousand horse and two thousand foot. They arrived within sight of Cadiz without perceiving an enemy; from that city a small body of cavalry issued as if to reconnoitre their march; it was rapidly followed by more numerous detachments; and before the Christians could discern their danger, they were surrounded
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and overwhelmed ; the majority of the soldiers perished by the sword ; and the grand-master of Calatrava, Don Henriquez, and the principal officers, were led captives to Granada.

Mohammed Barbarossa felt the fears of an usurper ; he knew the king of Castille was impetuous and resentful ; and that his own subjects were sickle or disaffected. He was unwilling to commit to the chance of war the throne he had obtained by fraud ; and to propitiate Peter, he dismissed his captives with magnificent presents, and expressions of friendship and respect. When he found this act of generosity had not disarmed the wrath of his haughty adversary, he even determined to acknowledge himself the vassal of the crown of Castille ; and he was invited to Seville to ratify the conditions of peace by the ceremony of homage. It is uncertain whether Peter, in the commencement of the negociation, meditated the dark crime he perpetrated, or whether he was stimulated by the gold and jewels that his royal guest and his train imprudently displayed ; but while Barbarossa shared with confidence the banquet, he was seized, with the Moorish nobles who had accompanied him, was mounted on an ass, exposed to the derision of the populace of Seville, and received his mortal wound from the hand of Peter himself ; his head was transmitted to Ronda ; and assured the prince whom he had dethroned, that he might re-enter in security the capital from which he had been so lately expelled.

Whenever revenge and avarice slumbered, the memory of Donna Padilla obtruded itself on the mind of Peter ; the beauty he had so passionately adored, was no more ; but their mutual children were still the object of his care. One son and three daughters had been the fruits of their embraces ; and it was the earnest wish of Peter that the

the sceptre of Castille might, after his death, descend to the infant Alfonso. In an assembly of the states which was held at Seville, he declared his previous marriage with Donna Padilla; three witnesses were produced who swore they were present at the ceremony; whatever might be the doubts of the assembly, they were cautious to suppress them; the legal pretensions of Alfonso were recognized; and in case of his death, his three sisters, according to the rights of primogeniture, were called to the succession of the crown.

It was immediately after this council that Peter hastened to Soria to confer with an ally worthy of his confidence. The surname of *Bad* or *Wicked*, had been bestowed on Charles king of Navarre, and his character and conduct justified the appellation. He was descended from the males of the blood royal of France; his mother was daughter of Lewis Hutin; and he had himself espoused a daughter of king John, who was taken prisoner by the English on the disastrous field of Poitiers. With regard to his personal qualities, he was courteous, affable, engaging, eloquent; full of insinuation and address; inexhaustible in his resources, and enterprising in action. But these splendid accomplishments were attended with such defects as rendered them pernicious to his country, and even fatal to himself. He was volatile, faithless, revengeful, and malicious; restrained by no principle or duty; insatiable in his pretensions; and whether successful or unfortunate in one enterprise, he immediately undertook another, in which he was never deterred from employing the most criminal and dishonourable expedients.

Yet practised in and enamoured as Charles was of guilt, he confessed a master in the presence of Peter; the discourse of the latter was abrupt and passionate; and his expressions seemed only half to reveal

reveal what his thoughts revolved. He dwelt with pleasure on the perfidious and inhuman murder of the king of Granada; he expatiated with violence on his hatred to the king of Arragon; and he demanded of Charles to enter into an offensive league against that monarch; the fate of Barbarossa was before the eyes of the king of Navarre; he consented with alacrity to whatever was proposed; and with the same facility violated every condition the moment that he had gained the shelter of his own dominions.

Though Peter soon perceived that he had been deceived by the king of Navarre, yet he commenced and carried on the war against Arragon with vigour. The death of the infant Alfonso, though it clouded his views, did not suspend the ardour of his preparations. The domestic loss he had sustained was supplied by the birth of a son by another mistress; and his negotiations were extended to the courts of Castile and Portugal; but the measure of his crimes was almost full; a general abhorrence of him had prevailed; the sovereigns of Arragon and Navarre were combined against him; the count of Transamare openly aspired to the throne; and the policy and resentment of the court of France combined in supporting his pretensions.

The most fertile provinces of France had been desolated by the arms of the English; and after a long war, Charles the fifth had been reduced to subscribe a peace which ceded to the king of England the extensive countries of Guienne, Poictou, Saintonge, Perigord, the Limousin, &c. But his treaty with Edward did not immediately restore the tranquillity of his kingdom; large bands of martial adventurers who had followed the English standard refused to lay down their arms, and persevered in a life of military rapine. They regard-

ed with contempt the censures of the church; and they even rejected the authority of the king of England, who, enraged at their insolence, offered to cross the seas to chastise them. But Charles was not desirous of the presence of so formidable an ally; he was content with coolly declining the proposal; and adding, that he himself had conceived a project which would deliver him from those dangerous inmates.

It was at this critical moment that Henry, count of Transjamaica, renewed his solicitations to the court of France, already inflamed against Peter on account of the murder of Blanch de Bourbon; and Charles determined to employ the daring bands of the companions to the destruction of the tyrant. He imparted the design to Bertrand du Guesclin, a gentleman of Brittany, and one of the most accomplished characters of the age. The abilities of du Guesclin were the means of securing these adventurers. He remonstrated to the leaders, by many of whom he was already beloved as the former associate of their toils and dangers, on the ignominy of their lives, and the dishonourable subsistence which they drew from plunder and rapine. To the plea of necessity, he opposed an honourable expedition which promised equal advantages with their present licentious incursions; the chiefs of the companions, so high was their confidence in his honour, consented to follow his standard, though ignorant of the enterprise he meditated; and the single stipulation they required was, that they should not be led against the prince of Wales, who in the name of his father governed the provinces of France which had been ceded by the late treaty. The silent acquiescence, if not the open concurrence of Edward was obtained; and Charles contributed what little he could spare from his slender

slender revenues, to hasten and complete the preparations.

Du Guesclin joined the martial band at Chalons on the Soane ; and probably descended that river and the Rhone to Avignon, the residence of a Roman pontiff. From Innocent the sixth he demanded, sword in hand, an absolution for his soldiers, and the sum of two hundred thousand livres. The first cost nothing, and was instantly granted ; but the second request was received with hesitation. When complied with, the pious successor of St. Peter extorted the money from the inhabitants of Avignon ; but the generous du Guesclin refused to trample on the oppressed ; “ It is not my purpose,” cried the humane warrior, “ to injure those innocent people ; the pope and his cardinals themselves can well spare me the sum I require, from their own hands. This money I insist must be restored to the owners ; and should they be defrauded of it, I shall myself return from the other side the Pyrenees, and oblige you to make them restitution.” The pope submitted to the peremptory language of du Guesclin ; and the success of his first negotiation was rivalled by that of his arms.

It was with terror that Peter received the intelligence of the rapid approach of Henry at the head of troops long celebrated for their valour, and accompanied by a general whose military skill was deemed second to none. Yet his throne was apparently defended by a gallant nobility and a numerous army ; but he justly distrusted the loyalty of both ; and though he was strongly solicited to remain at Burgos, and rely on their fidelity for the defence of his capital, he embraced the less glorious, but more secure expedient of a precipitate retreat to Seville ; and thence, after possessing him-

self of the treasures he had amassed in that city he continued his flight to the frontiers of Portugal.

The count of Trastamare was received in Castille with the transport which might naturally be expected from a people who had long groaned under the yoke of a relentless tyrant, and were eager to testify their gratitude to their deliverer. Burgos opened her gates ; and the nobles who had so lately been lavish in their protestations to Peter, hastened to acknowledge the authority of his victorious brother ; the crown was placed on his head with holy pomp by the archbishop of Toledo ; the example of the capital determined the provinces ; the adherents of the tyrant were only anxious for their personal safety ; and the martial followers of Henry might complain that no opportunity was allowed them to display their valour.

Yet if they were defrauded of the glory they had anticipated by the flight of Peter, they were amply recompensed for the march they had undertaken by the generosity of Henry. The royal treasures which that prince found in Burgos he immediately divided among the companions ; nor were the superior merits of du Guesclin neglected ; and the rich lordship of Molina, besides a considerable sum of money, was allotted as the reward of his services.

While the victors divided the riches he had extorted from his oppressed subjects, the fugitive Peter revolved the means by which he could hope to regain his throne ; from Portugal he had ventured to present himself in Galicia ; but the approach of Henry, and the unfavourable disposition of the inhabitants, induced him to retire ; with what he had preserved of his wealth he embarked at Corunna ; though closely pursued he gained Bayonne ; and entered a suppliant the court of the prince of Wales.

Edward,

Edward, who from the colour of his armour was surnamed the Black Prince, and who ruled over Aquitaine with the power and pomp of a sovereign, was not more distinguished for his high courage and military talents, than for his generosity, humanity, and affability; he had early encouraged the enterprise against Peter; but the appearance of that monarch seems to have changed his sentiments. Whether he was moved by the generosity of supporting a distressed prince, and thought, as is but too usual among sovereigns, that the rights of the people were a matter of much less consideration; or dreaded the acquisition of so powerful a confederate to France as the new king of Castille; or what is most probable, inflamed by the thirst of fame, and impatient of rest and ease, was desirous of an opportunity for exerting those abilities in war by which he had already acquired so much renown, he promised his assistance to the royal suppliant; and having obtained the consent of his father, he levied a great army, and set out on the enterprise; he was accompanied by his younger brother John of Gaunt, lately created duke of Lancaster; and Chandos, who bore among the English the same character as du Guesclin among the French, commanded under him.

Each of the rivals was desirous of engaging in his interest the king of Navarre; and Charles, with his usual perfidy, negotiated with and deceived both. He signed a treaty with Henry, by which in return for Logrono, and sixty thousand pistoles, he engaged to oppose the march of the confederates; and in a few days after on the promise of the strong and important town of Victoria on the frontiers of Navarre, he entered into an alliance with Peter, and assured him of a free passage through his dominions for himself and his auxiliaries. To preserve appearances with Henry, he suffered himself to be surprised by a knight of the
name

name of Mauny, and conveyed a prisoner to the castle of Cherburgh in Normandy, while Peter and the prince of Wales pursued their course through Navarre without molestation.

The first blow which Edward gave to Henry, was the recalling of the companions from his service ; and such was their reverence for the prince of Wales, that the majority immediately inlisted under his banners. Henry however, beloved by his new subjects, and supported by the king of Arragon and others of his neighbours, was able to meet the enemy with an army of one hundred thousand men ; forces three times more numerous than those which were commanded by Edward. Du Guesclin advised him to delay any decisive action, and his counsel was supported by the most experienced officers ; and to content himself with harassing and cutting off the provisions of his antagonist, who in the open field had hitherto always proved victorious ; but Henry confided too much in his superior numbers ; he was sensible that his reputation must suffer in a defensive war ; and he probably dreaded lest the intrigues of his brother might be extended to his camp. The plain which surrounds Najara afforded an ample theatre to the rival armies ; the forces of Henry were permitted to pass a river in their front ; but they were scarce formed on the opposite bank when they were charged by their enemies ; their resistance was far from obstinate ; and in less than an hour the immense host was totally dispersed. On the side of the English, only four knights and forty private men perished ; but of the Castilians thousands fell by the sword, or were overwhelmed in the river ; du Guesclin was taken prisoner ; and Henry himself, with a few of his officers of rank, escaped with difficulty the pursuit of the victors.

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The vanquished prince reposed a few days in the territories of Arragon, but he distrusted the faith of that monarch, and sought a more secure asylum within the limits of France, while his victorious competitor was received into Burgos, and once more beheld Castille subject to his fury. Even on the field of battle he was with difficulty restrained by the generous Edward from satiating his revenge by the massacre of his captives; and his entrance into his capital would have been stained with the blood of his principal nobility, had they not been saved from his malignant rage by the same powerful mediation; yet the satisfaction which the prince of Wales experienced from the success of this perilous enterprise, was soon alloyed by the ingratitude and treachery of the tyrant he had restored; Peter refused the recompense he had promised to the English forces; and Edward, after a fruitless expostulation, returned to Guienne with his army diminished, and his own constitution fatally impaired by the heat of the climate.

His retreat released Peter from the awe which his presence had imposed. A severe inquisition was made into the guilt of his subjects; and the most distant connection with the party of Henry was attended by confiscation or death. His ferocious temper had been heightened by his former exile, and his present prosperity; and he considered and treated his people as vanquished rebels. Even the more helpless sex was included in his thirst of blood; and several of the most illustrious ladies of Castille were the victims to his cruelty.

While Peter abused his prosperity, the fugitive Henry endeavoured to awaken the compassion of the princes of Europe in his cause. He was received at Avignon with respect by the Roman pontiff, Urban the fifth, who affected to believe the marriage of his mother Leonora de Guzman with Alfonso the eleventh,

eleventh, pronounced him free from the stain of illegitimacy, and dismissed him with his benediction, and the more acceptable present of a considerable sum of money; the count of Foix suffered him to levy forces within his territories; but his chief reliance was on the king of France. Charles was not deterred by the late reverse of fortune which his ally had experienced, from hoping a more auspicious event. The barbarities of Peter had increased his confidence in the cause of Henry; he furnished the latter with whatever pecuniary aid he could spare; he paid the ransom of du Guesclin; and the name of that chief was itself an host. Henry again passed the Pyrenees, and he had scarce unfurled his standard within the limits of Castille, before the detestation of Peter swelled his martial train to a numerous army; he formed the siege of Toledo; and only abandoned the enterprise to meet his brother in the plains of Montial.

The city of Cordova had been driven by the rapacity and cruelty of the tyrant into revolt; in conjunction with his ally the king of Granada, Peter invested the walls, and urged his attacks with vigour; but the fainting spirits of the citizens were rekindled by the reproaches of their wives, who avowed their resolution to perish in the flames, sooner than submit to the royal savage; their despair prevailed; and the assailants were compelled to retire from a city they had already entered; the retreat of Peter was quickened by the intelligence that Henry had passed the Pyrenees and menaced Toledo. His confidence was inspired by a review of the forces of Castille and Granada, which still professed their loyalty or fidelity; his impetuous mind ill-brooked delay; he rushed forward to chastise the rash intruder; at a small distance from Toledo he descried the ensigns of his rival, and in the plains of Montial he pitched his last camp.

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The pretensions of the competitors admitted not of compromise, and their claims were referred to the decision of the sword; in the tumult of battle Peter displayed a courage not unworthy of his ancestors; but his soldiers fought coldly in his cause; and the troops of Granada felt themselves but little interested in the quarrel; they fled; and their example was soon followed by the Castilians; the horse of Peter bore him from the carnage; and the fortifications of Montial checked the immediate pursuit of the victors.

Impatient to establish his throne by the death of his brother, Henry from the field of battle advanced to, and invested the castle of Montial; strong lines of circumvallation were drawn around it; and every hour increased the difficulty of escape, and diminished the means of resistance. Peter beheld with terror the approach of that death which he had so often wantonly inflicted; he endeavoured to corrupt the fidelity of Bertrand du Guesclin; and he offered an immense sum to pass in the night through the quarter where the latter commanded. He was allured to an interview; but in the tent of du Guesclin instead of a confederate he found a rival; the negociation had been communicated to Henry, who stood ready to receive his destined victim; some moments of ungrateful respite were allowed to reproach; but the remembrance of Leonora shortened the suspense of Peter; and the dagger of Henry was buried in his bosom.

The reign and fall of a tyrant has too long occupied our attention; the claims A. D. 1369,
1379. of his posterity were feebly supported by the duke of Lancaster, the son of Edward of England, who had married the eldest daughter of Peter; Toledo opened her gates to Henry; and his authority was sanctioned by the unanimous suffrages of the states-general. But the turbulence of the

the times suffered him not to enjoy his crown in peace; and during the ten years that he reigned, he was successively attacked by the forces of England and Granada, of Portugal, Arragon, and Navarre; in defending his dominions he displayed the same address and valour as he had shewn in acquiring them; by negotiation or force he evaded or repelled the attempts of his enemies; and Castille looked forwards to the moment of general tranquillity, when the prospect was clouded by the premature fate of Henry; his death in the forty-sixth year of his age was ascribed to poison; the public suspicion fell on the king of Granada, who in the formidable preparations of Henry, was supposed to dread the total subversion of the Moorish power in Spain; and the venom was reported to have been conveyed in a pair of buskins which had been sent by that monarch as a present to the king of Castille; the account serves only to expose the ignorance of the age; and the indisposition which brought Henry to the grave, may more probably be attributed to incessant toil and anxiety.

His throne was immediately filled by
A. D. 1379,
1390. his son John, a prince not unworthy of his illustrious father. In a war which he maintained in defence of his dignity with England and Portugal, he displayed the same prudence and spirit. The death of his consort Leonora had left him a widower in the flower of his age; and as the first condition of peace he readily consented to receive the hand of Beatrix, the daughter of Ferdinand of Portugal. The treaty was favourable to John; and it was stipulated that his children by Beatrix should succeed to the throne of Portugal on the death of Ferdinand. That event was not far distant; and two years after John had celebrated his second nuptials, he was informed that his father-in-law was no more. He asserted
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the claim of his infant son Henry; but the Portuguese dreaded his ascendancy; their pride was wounded by the fear that their country might sink into a province of Castille; and to the pretensions of that prince, they opposed those of a namesake and kinsman. John, to distinguish whom from his cousin we shall annex the title, of Portugal, was the half brother of the late king, and son of Peter, by his celebrated mistress Agnes de Castro. The stain of his birth was effaced by his splendid qualities; and the affections of the Portuguese accompanied him to the field. Yet the commencement of his reign was overcast with clouds; the forces of Castille penetrated to the mouth of the Tagus, and invested the ancient city of Lisbon, which boasts its fabulous foundation from Ulysses; a pestilential distemper which broke out in the camp of the besiegers, compelled them to retire; but with the return of spring they were in arms again; and the banners of Castille were once more displayed on the banks of the Tagus. The Portuguese army consisted not of above twelve thousand men; but its position at Aljubarotta was naturally advantageous, and strongly fortified; the troops which marched under the king of Castille were computed at thirty thousand; and their numbers inspired their royal leader with fatal confidence. His ardour rejected the salutary counsels of the French ambassador, whose experience was the result of forty years spent in war; and without waiting to refresh his followers, he spurred his horse to the charge. His imprudence was severely punished; the Castilians were entangled in a morass which protected the front of the Portuguese; several thousands, with many of their principal officers, perished; and the king could not reproach the precipitate flight of the survivors, since he himself never ventured to stop until he reposed within the fortifications

fortifications of Santaren, at the distance of thirty miles from the field of battle.

The defeat of Aljubarotta extinguished the hopes of the king of Castille, and revived the spirits of his enemies; an hostile league was negociated and concluded between Portugal and England; and the Duke of Lancaster was easily persuaded to arm in support of the claim which he derived from his marriage with the eldest daughter of Peter the Cruel. He landed at Padron in Galicia, with an army less remarkable for its numbers than its valour and discipline; was received into Compostella; and solemnly proclaimed king of Castille. His rival dreaded to encounter that impetuous courage which had so lately proved fatal to France; his mind was still impressed with the defeat of Aljubarotta; and he contented himself with adopting a less glorious, though more certain plan of defence; he laid waste the greatest part of Galicia; and as the English advanced, they beheld on every side a dreary and desolate country; their strength was impaired by famine; and transported from the temperate island of Britain, they languished in the sultry climate of Spain. Yet John was far from relying on the distress of his adversary; he was impatient to secure his own, and his subjects' tranquillity; and while the duke of Lancaster revolved the difficulties that surrounded him, he was surprised by the appearance of commissioners from the king of Castille; his ardent wish had been to raise his daughter to that throne; and he listened with pleasure to the offer of six hundred thousand pieces of gold to reimburse the expences he had incurred, and the proposal of a marriage between his daughter Catalina, and Henry the eldest son of John. The treaty with Portugal was an immediate obstacle; the war and negotiation was continued through a second year; but on the expiration

tion of that term a peace was formally subscribed; the infant Henry, though only in his tenth year, was contracted to the princess Catalina, who had entered her fourteenth; and the title of Prince of Asturias, which on this occasion was imparted to Henry, has ever since become the distinction of the eldest son of Spain.

The subjects of the king of Portugal had started to arms to maintain their independence; but it was with reluctance they followed the standard of their monarch in the invasion of Castille; after the treaty between the duke of Lancaster and John, their aversion to the continuance of hostilities increased; the war was confined to a few desultory enterprises; and the mutual weakness of the rival nations recommended the doubtful expedient of a truce. The interval of public repose was improved by John; and however his people might have doubted his talents in war, they were loud in their applause of his virtues in peace; their happiness seemed the only object of his attention; and the severe frugality which he practised himself, was the source of his liberality to his subjects; the taxes were diminished; commerce revived and agriculture flourished; but their exultation was transient; and in the vigour of his age the Castilians were condemned to deplore the loss of their father and their king. The vicissitudes of public or private life had induced several of the Christians of Spain to seek a retreat or subsistence in Africa; in exile they still maintained the purity of their religion, and panted after their native soil. The king of Castille was not insensible to their solicitations; his weighty mediation was used with the emperor of Morocco, and they were permitted to return; John advanced to meet them at Alcala on the road to Andalusia; trained in all the evolutions of the manage amongst a nation of horsemen, he admired the dexterity with which they

they guided their courfers. As he spurred his own in imitation, the feet of the horse plunged into an hole; he fell upon his master, and crushed him to death.

Thus died in the thirty-third year of his ^{A.D. 1390,} age, and at the critical juncture when his ¹⁴⁰⁴ prudence and experience were most necessary, John king of Castille; his son Henry the third, on whom the crown devolved, was but eleven years old, and the surname of *Sickly*, was expressive of his delicate constitution. A council of regency was formed to administer the kingdom; and the members of it were Frederic duke of Beneventa, the natural son of Henry the second, and the uncle of the late king; Peter, count of Trans-tamare; Alonzo of Arragon, marquis of Villera; the archbishops of Toledo and Compostella; the grand masters of St. James and Calatrava; and sixteen deputies from the principal cities of Castille. In the first moments they seemed willing to sacrifice their private views to the public good; but the spirit of patriotism was not proof against the suggestions of interest; and it was not long before their jarring pretensions threatened the most fatal consequences.

The duke of Beneventa was haughty, artful, and ambitious; the archbishop of Toledo was sincere, credulous, and bigotted; the judgment of the latter was seduced by the address of the former; and his approbation served to sanction the designs of his intriguing associate. The duke of Beneventa had pretended to the hand of Leonora, a princess of the blood royal, and the richest heiress of Spain; such a match would have exalted him in power and influence too near the crown; and to disappoint his views, Leonora was betrothed to Ferdinand, the king's brother. The baffled lover immediately conceived a new project; he demand-
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ed in marriage the natural daughter of the king of Portugal; and to dissuade him from the alliance, the regency were obliged to make him a present of the same sum as he was to have received in dowry with that princess.

The domestic dissensions of the nobles of Castille encouraged the insolence of her neighbours; the language of the king of Portugal was arrogant and hostile; and an irruption of the Moors of Granada revealed their confidence in the intestine discord of the Christians; yet Henry had not been an inattentive spectator of the intrigues which convulsed his kingdom; a vigorous mind animated a feeble frame; and though he had not yet completed his thirteenth year, he determined to assume the reins of government; he was encouraged in this resolution by an embassy from Charles the sixth, king of France, who assured him of his support should his nobility presume to oppose his authority. At Madrid the states-general were convened; and the firm tone of an inexperienced youth commanded their acquiescence; the council of regency was dissolved; and the entire privilege of king was resigned into the hands of Henry.

The first measure of the youthful monarch was more grateful to the nation at large, than to his own family. The prudent conduct of his father was his example in the appropriation of the public wealth; but the period of his minority had been abused; and an interested regency had allotted large pensions to every person who was allied to the throne. These lavish grants Henry instantly reclaimed; but he softened the rigour of the step, by the promise that when the affairs of Castille would admit the expedient, he should be ready to afford any support to the dignity of the royal family. It is seldom that individuals can be prevailed upon to relinquish their own for the public advantage; and the

the relations of the king were the first to oppose his administration ; the disaffection even gained the females of his blood ; and his court was deserted by the princes and princesses of the blood ; at the same time the duke of Beneventé, the marquis of Villena, and the count of Transtamare assembled their partizans, and retired to their castles.

Before their designs could be matured, or they could confederate in their rebellion, Henry, confiding in the integrity of his own intentions, and the fidelity of his people in general, was in arms. Jealous of his reputation, he suffered not the archbishop of Toledo to accompany him, lest his conduct might be ascribed to the counsels of that prelate. His vigour recalled the rebels to a sense of their danger ; and the marquis of Villena was the first to implore and experience his clemency ; the haughty genius of the duke of Beneventé was awed by his resolution ; he solicited peace, and obtained it ; but the transaction proclaimed the magnanimous spirit of the king ; and he dismissed the duke of Beneventé to a fortress of his own, that he might there revolve the treaty he proposed to sign, and be excluded from any pretence afterwards, that his consent had been extorted. The interval of suspense was dangerous to a mind that fluctuated between hope and fear ; the duke hoped still to deceive his sovereign ; and though he renewed his intrigues with the count of Transtamare, he hesitated not to present himself before the king at Burgos ; but his steps had been closely watched ; his correspondence detected ; and as he entered the court he was arrested, and sent prisoner to the castle of Almadovar.

The count of Transtamare was the last of the confederates to return to his allegiance ; deserted by his associates, he stood exposed to the wrath of his sovereign ; but vengeance was too base a
passion

passion to find admission within the bosom of Henry; and no sooner did the count of Transmare prostrate himself at the feet of his king, than his pardon was sealed; yet when the honour of Castille required her monarch to arm, the vigour of his preparations anticipated the designs of his enemies. In the hour of peace and confidence, the Portuguese had surprised the strong town of Badajoz, which commands the banks of the Guadiana. But they were not suffered long to exult in their perfidy; a formidable army was rapidly collected and moved beneath the conduct of Henry himself; the fertile fields along the banks of the Tagus were laid waste; the naval squadrons which had issued from the port of Lisbon were defeated, and in part destroyed; the pride of the king of Portugal was humbled; he sued for peace; and the restitution of Badajoz was the preliminary of a truce for ten years.

The fleet that had been successfully employed against Portugal, on the suspension of hostilities with that country was destined by Henry to act against the rovers of Barbary. These had overspread the narrow seas between the coasts of Spain and Africa; no laws nor treaties could restrain their thirst of spoil; their cruelty equalled their rapacity; and not only the wealth of the merchant became their prey, but the wretched crew who fell into their hands were often massacred with circumstances of wanton barbarity. Their haunts were explored by the squadrons of Castille; their vessels burnt; and the town of Tetuan, the repository of their plunder, besieged; its walls were not long capable of resisting the ardour of the assailants; the lives of its inhabitants atoned for the injuries of the Castilians; and the victors were gladdened with the treasures that had been accumulated during years of piratical adventure.

Bursting from the narrow limits of Zagatai, the renown of Timour had extended from the east to the west. He had subdued or over-run Persia, Tartary, and India; in the plains of Anjora he had trampled under foot the strength of the Ottomans, and cast into chains the haughty sultan Bajazet; it was while his mind was elated with his recent victory, that he was saluted by the ambassadors of Henry; the Mogul emperor was not insensible to courtesy; a Tartarian envoy presented himself at Burgos; two Hungarian ladies, who had been found among the captives of the vanquished sultan, were deemed by Tamerlane the most acceptable present that he could offer to the king of Castille; and to express the satisfaction of Henry, a second embassy undertook the laborious pilgrimage to the camp of Tamerlane.

The correspondence between Henry and Tamerlane, whose dominions lay so distant, and whose faiths were so discordant, must have been rather prompted by vanity than policy; and at the time that the king of Castille vied in acts of courtesy with the most zealous of the Believers, he meditated the expulsion of the disciples of Mahomet from Spain. He beheld with indignation the fertile fields which were watered by the Guadalkivir in the hands of the Moors; he embraced the opportunity which the predatory incursions of the king of Granada offered; and the vigour with which his preparations were carried on, inflamed the hopes of his subjects and struck terror into his enemies.

But the prospects of victory which the Castilians had fondly indulged, were soon darkened. An assembly of the states had been summoned to Toledo; but the indisposition of Henry suffered him not to be present; and to his brother Ferdinand was assigned the care of opening to the deputies the glorious prospects which their sovereign revolved. A strict
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and honourable economy had replenished the public coffers ; a martial nobility restrained from domestic feuds languished to exercise their valour against the common enemy ; the proposal for war was received with loud applause ; the expedition was sanctioned by the holy approbation of the clergy ; the whole force of Castille would have been poured upon the astonished infidels ; nor is it probable that the Moors of Granada, unsupported by the powers of Africa, could have withstood the fury of the torrent ; but while the states deliberated on the most efficacious means of supply, the plan was entirely dissolved ; and Henry, whose wisdom had concerted it, and whose experience alone could have executed it, had breathed his last at Toro. His only son was a feeble infant of fourteen months old ; and the Castilians already anticipated the evils with which the kingdom during a minority had been so frequently afflicted.

It was the observation of Henry, and it ought to be treasured in the mind of every prince, “ that he feared the curses of his people more than the weapons of his enemies.” Yet however careful he was to guard against the former by a reign of moderation, when the dignity of the crown demanded, he knew how to punish as well as to reward ; he studiously repressed the pride of the nobility, whose influence when he ascended the throne overshadowed the power of the sovereign ; and in a sedition of the city of Seville, he admonished the multitude to dread the anger of their monarch ; one thousand of the citizens atoned for their guilt with their lives ; yet the instances of severity which he adopted were rare ; more ready to pardon than to chastise, he was regarded rather as the father than the king ; and his memory was embalmed by the tears of his people ; his virtues were supposed to have hastened his fate ; and the confessions of some Jews were

eagerly received, who accused the king of Granada of having undermined by poison the life of a prince whom he dreaded to encounter in the field. Yet Henry's constitution had been always delicate; his disorder was tedious; and the effect of slow poison has been doubted if not refuted by a more enlightened age.

When the death of Henry was announced, a silent astonishment prevailed through the assembly of the states; it was broken by a voice that proposed, instead of admitting the succession of a feeble infant, that a prince of mature wisdom should be chosen to fill the throne of Castille; the name of Ferdinand the brother of the late king was pronounced; but that prince considered himself as the natural guardian of the rights of his nephew; at the proposal he started with horror and indignation from his seat; he commanded the standard of Castille to be unfurled, and John the second to be proclaimed. His resolution fixed the wavering minds of the assembly; every murmur was suppressed; and the oath of allegiance was unanimously taken to the son of Henry.

The integrity of Ferdinand did not leave the states long in doubt on whom to repose the trust of the regency. With that prince was joined the name of the queen mother; but while the latter watched over the health and education of her son, the cares of government were confided to the former. The fleets and armies which had been assembled by Henry only waited the signal for action; and though the death of that monarch had dissolved the splendid project of conquest, yet the defence of Castille demanded the most vigorous measures. The king of Granada, to anticipate the designs of his adversaries, had passed the frontiers of his dominions and invested Alcantara in the mountains of Sierra

Sierra Morena, with an host of eighty thousand men ; but a veteran garrison derided the unskilful attacks of the besiegers ; the exhausted country no longer afforded them subsistence ; the disgraceful expedient of a retreat was adopted ; and the rear of the infidels was closely pressed, and repeatedly broken by the charge of the Christian cavalry.

The piratical squadrons of Tunis and Tremeeen had sallied from their ports ; they were encountered and defeated by the fleet of Castille ; but the measures of Ferdinand were rather calculated to protect than extend the dominions of his nephew ; the disorders to which a minority is exposed continually recurred to his mind ; and he was willing to provide against domestic dissension by extinguishing the flames of foreign war. It might have been difficult to have adjusted the discordant claims of Castille and Granada in a permanent peace ; but the Moors were disgusted with the rival pretensions of two brothers, and the ill success of their enterprises ; two powerful factions distracted their own government ; and a truce allowed each party to resume his claims at a proper opportunity ; the expedient was approved by the court of Castille ; it was first signed for eight months ; and though transiently interrupted by the reduction of Antequera, a strong town about twelve leagues from Granada, which surrendered to Don Ferdinand, was frequently afterwards prolonged.

To his integrity Ferdinand had sacrificed one crown, and his moderation was soon rewarded with another ; Martin, king of Arragon, had expired without children ; and a variety of pretenders aspired to ascend the vacant throne. The pretensions of Ferdinand were drawn from his descent from the great aunt of the late monarch ; they were strengthened by his own reputation, by the influence of the Roman pontiff Benedict the thirteenth, and

and by the treasures and forces of Castille; yet his competitors yielded not without a struggle; and it was not until he had reduced the strong fortress of Balaguer on the northern banks of the Segro, and which was defended by his rival count Urgal, that Ferdinand entered in triumph and celebrated his coronation within his capital of Saragossa.

His reign was short; and even the little time that was allowed him to taste of royalty was alloyed by domestic conspiracy and discontent; the count of Urgal, who had been pardoned by his magnanimity, renewed his intrigues, and even attempted his life by poison; and the states of Catalonia, jealous of their privileges, refused to contribute to support the claim of his younger son to Sicily. His thoughts were still turned to Castille and the prosperity of his nephew; he concluded a marriage between his eldest son Alfonso, and Maria the sister of the king of Castille; but as he advanced to Burgos to confer with the queen dowager, he was attacked on the road with a mortal distemper, and was succeeded by Alfonso, who even surpassed in renown his father, and wrested from the house of Anjou the kingdom of Naples.

The death of Ferdinand was followed soon by that of the queen dowager; and though John had only entered his thirteenth year, it was deemed expedient by the most powerful of the Castilian nobility, to extinguish a dangerous competition for the regency, by resigning into his hands the reins of government. But his weakness and inexperience tempted the ambition of the kindred princes of Arragon; and John and Henry, the brothers of Alfonso, contended for dominion over their royal cousin. In the career for power the daring spirit of the latter outstripped the former; and Henry, seconded by the constable of Castille, and the bishop of Segovia, possessed himself of the person
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of the king at Tordefillas. Whatever indignation that monarch might feel on beholding himself the captive of his faithless kinsman, he was careful to suppress every emotion of resentment. He consented to a double marriage; he received as the partner of his bed and throne Maria, the sister of Henry; and bestowed the hand of his own sister Catherine, on his treacherous relation; but while Henry exulted in his new alliances, and in the hour of confidence relaxed from his usual vigilance, his dream of grandeur was interrupted by the flight of the king.

During more than thirty years that elapsed from the escape of John to his death, his subjects were afflicted with every calamity which can arise from civil war; yet amidst the tempest which incessantly shook his throne, he displayed no inconsiderable share of firmness; he arrested his brother-in-law Henry, who had presumed to present himself at court at the moment that he was labouring to excite new commotions; and though he released him in compliance with the mediation of his brother the king of Arragon, and of his second brother John, who in right of his wife had ascended the throne of Navarre, yet neither fear nor gratitude were sufficient to restrain the turbulent Henry. A new war soon broke out, in which the forces of Castille and Arrogan engaged with various success; during a short suspension of hostilities, the gloom which involves the reign of John was transiently gilded by a decisive victory over the Moors of Granada; but it was not until the affairs of Italy occupied the attention of the kings of Arragon and Navarre, that Castille was suffered to repose for some time from their hostile enterprises.

Even that period was far from tranquil; Don Alvaro de Luna, with the office of high constable, possessed and perhaps abused the favour and confidence

fidence of his sovereign; his insolence or their envy stimulated the nobles of Castille to arms; they were the victims of their own temerity; and their defeat promised to establish the power of John when it was suddenly shaken by those who appeared most interested to maintain it.

Though the spirits of the malecontents were broken, their numbers were still far from despicable; and Henry of Arragon had even in their name surprised the city of Toledo, when that event was obscured by a new incident still more astonishing; the queen and the prince of Asturias openly declared on the side of the rebels; the former was influenced by her hatred of Don Alvaro de Luna; the latter by his impatience to seize a sceptre which, when it devolved on him, he was incapable of retaining. John was unable to resist the torrent of disaffection; he subscribed the dismissal of his favourite; consented to change his ministers; and while his rebellious nobles obtruded themselves into every office of trust or emolument, was suffered to retain the name and state without the authority of a king.

From this dependent situation he was rescued by a second revolution not less rapid nor unexpected than the former. The banishment of Don Alvaro de Luna had reconciled Maria to her consort; and the prince of Asturias, while he exclaimed against his father's abandoning himself to the counsels of the constable, was himself a slave to the address of Don Juan Pacheco. The latter was persuaded by the bishop of Avila to exert his influence to restore the royal authority; his remonstrances transiently awakened the prince to a sense of the infamy which attended his confederacy against his father; a new league was silently formed; the royal standard was displayed; and the king, eluding the vigilance of his guards, escaped from the castle of Portillo, and placed

placed himself at the head of the forces which had been assembled by his son,

The rebels had advanced too far to recede; the king of Navarre, whom neither the disasters of his Italian expedition could intimidate, nor the general cause of kings could influence, appeared in arms on the side of the conspirators; their camp was pitched on the banks of the Adaja, in the neighbourhood of Olmedo; and it was there they awaited the charge of the royal army. The indignation of John impelled him to instant action; and the impetuous courage of the prince of Asturias ill brooked delay. Yet the resistance of the confederates was long and bloody; and though compelled to abandon the field, the king of Navarre, and his brother Henry, merited the praise of skill and valour; a wound in the hand was attended by a mortification and proved fatal to the latter; but the former, under cover of the darkness eluded the pursuit of the victors, and gained the frontiers of Aragon.

In the moment of distress John had consented to banish from his councils the constable Don Alvaro de Luna; but with the return of prosperity his attachment to that nobleman revived; and he was not only recalled to court but invested with the dignity of grand-master of the order of St. James; at the same time the death of Maria left the king of Castille a widower, and he was prevailed upon by his favourite to bestow his hand on the princess Isabella of Portugal. The return of Don Alvaro, and the second marriage of his father, were equally disagreeable to the prince of Asturias; his actions were rather the effects of caprice than principle; and the transient remorse he had lately felt on having violated his duty as a son and a subject, was overwhelmed by the lust of empire. He abruptly retired from court, and flew to arms; but the forces he

he had collected were far from numerous before he was surprised in the plains between Aravalo and Madrigal, by the appearance of John, who with a select detachment had hastened to chastise his disobedience. The troops on each side were nearly equal; and if the king could not wish to survive the loss of his dignity, the prince could not hope to escape the punishment of his double guilt; yet both were alike impatient for the encounter; with different emotions their followers awaited the signal to charge; on which ever side they turned their eyes, they beheld near relations or bosom friends; and the exultation of victory must have been alloyed by the destruction of those who were most dear to them; while they gazed with horror on the adverse ranks, the interval of suspense was dexterously seized and improved by the prelates and clergy who had accompanied the king and the prince; their holy mediation proved successful; the sword for a moment was sheathed; but the oath of filial affection and future obedience which passed the lips of the prince of Asturias, never found admission to his heart.

The king of Navarre still continued his hostilities; a rapacious host of Gascons was allured by his promises to traverse the Pyrenees, and to consume the plenty of Castille; the Moors of Granada insulted and ravaged the frontiers of Andalusia, while the prince of Asturias was an indolent spectator of their destructive progress; and in the fond hope that the public distress might induce John to abdicate the royal dignity, exulted in every event that contributed to diminish the reputation of his father.

Yet there were moments when interest or caprice induced Henry to assume the appearance of filial duty, and to act in conjunction with his royal parent; and it was one of these that proved at length

length fatal to Don Alvaro de Luna. In the possession of the important offices of high constable of Castille and grand master of St. James, the power of the favourite seemed secure even against the frown of his master; a faithful company of guards was raised in his name, and commanded by his natural son Don Pedro; and while these protected his person from immediate danger, his liberality seemed daily to swell the number of his adherents; yet in his ascent to greatness, every step had only served to render his situation more perilous; envy had been the constant companion of his fortune; those he had promoted considered him as the obstacle to their future aggrandisement; and those he had neglected, if they concealed their murmurs, only concealed them to accomplish with greater ease his ruin. In the field he had braved the heir of the crown, and in the court his magnificence had obscured the possessor of it; and Henry was neither destitute of resentment, nor John totally devoid of observation; from the moment that jealousy entered the bosom of the latter, the destruction of Alvaro was determined; and it was only the means of achieving it with least danger, that occupied the thoughts of the king of Castille.

In the prosecution of the design some degree of artifice was requisite; and new marks of confidence were heaped by John on the devoted victim; he accepted of Alvaro's invitation to Tordeillas; and the sumptuous manner in which he was entertained, served to confirm his resolution. His counsels however had not been taken so secretly but some rumours of them had transpired; and when the court proposed to return to Burgos, the suspicions of Alvaro were revealed by demanding of the king a solemn assurance for his safety; the alacrity with which it was granted, ought to have increased the fears of the minister; and long practised in reading the human heart, he should have known, that to
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doubt the faith of his sovereign, was to convert him into an implacable enemy.

He had scarcely entered the capital before he found the report of his disgrace became more general : the queen herself, who owed her marriage to his intrigues, had been disgusted by his arrogance ; and Don Alfonso de Vivaro, who already possessed the place of high treasurer, and aspired to that of minister, under the mask of friendship was indefatigable in his efforts to undermine him ; his artifices were penetrated by the eye of Alvaro, and the desire of vengeance surpassed that of safety ; he summoned to his palace his adherents, and Vivaro presented himself amongst the number ; the seat of council was a lofty tower which overlooked the city ; and no sooner had Vivaro ascended than he was thrown headlong from the summit, and dashed to pieces on the stones beneath.

It is probable that Alvaro nourished a secret hope that the fate of his rival might be imputed by his sovereign to accident ; but he should have recollected, that it is not easy to lull the jealousy of a monarch when once it is awakened ; the king was impatient to chastise his presumption ; the queen was zealous to avenge the death of her favourite ; and a crowd of hollow courtiers were loud in their indignation against a minister for whose smiles they had so lately contended. To the multitude, the minion of the prince is ever odious ; and Alvaro had too frequently heard the execrations of the populace, to rely on their assistance. His palace was surrounded by the royal guards ; and though his own spirit might have preferred immediate destruction to submission, he declined by a fruitless defence to involve his friends in his ruin. He obtained a promise from the king, that nothing should be attempted against his life and honour ; but the word *unjustly*, was insidiously inserted ; the engagement was evaded ;

ed ; and Alvaro was conducted a prisoner to his own castle of Portillo.

A commission was immediately granted to proceed against him ; and had he been innocent, he could have expected but little justice from judges who had been chosen by his prosecutors. Yet though he was free from the stain of treason, he could not vindicate himself from the murder of Vivaro. He was declared guilty, and sentenced to suffer death by the hands of the common executioner. He heard the decree without changing colour ; and in the last and most trying moment of his life he asserted the courage of a Castilian noble, and disappointed by his fearless behaviour the malice of his enemies. No entreaties for mercy, no expressions unworthy of the rank he had filled, escaped him ; in the market-place of Valladolid he ascended with a firm step the scaffold ; and confessed in his approaching fate the just punishment of his sins ; he observed near him the master of the horse to the prince of Asturias. " Bereza," said he, " tell your master from me, that he will do well not to follow his father's example in thus rewarding his old and faithful servants." As he surveyed the pole on which his head was to be fixed ; " no death," added he, can be shameful, which is supported with courage and intrepidity ; nor ought to be considered as untimely, when a man has been for many years at the head of affairs, and conducted all things with dignity and reputation." With decent composure he presented his throat to the executioner, and received with intrepidity the fatal stroke ; for several days his headless body was exposed to the public view ; his treasures had been confiscated by his rapacious sovereign ; and it was to common charity that his remains were indebted for a burial. Yet the hatred or compassion of the populace are ever in extremes ; the faults of Alvaro were

were forgotten in the magnanimity with which he suffered ; and an awful admonition was impressed on the surrounding crowd, while they revolved the bloody relics of a man who had equalled the greatest princes in wealth and power, left to depend for their funeral rites on the alms of those who had so lately trembled at his name.

John lived not long enough to repent his ingratitude to a minister who, however he had oppressed the people, had defended amidst the storms of civil dissension the authority of the crown. As the king of Castille rapidly pressed his journey towards Medina del Campo, to confer with his sister the queen of Arragon, he was attacked by a burning fever ; his constitution resisted the immediate fury of the disease ; but he reached Valladolid in a state of weakness ; his disorder returned ; and after a long and turbulent reign, he expired in the sentiments of piety and resignation in the forty-seventh year of his age.

The vacant throne was immediately filled by his son Henry, who without the virtues possessed the failings of his father. He was equally destitute of the talents of a king, and the vigour of a man ; and the cause of his divorce from his consort Blanch, the daughter of the king of Navarre, was perpetuated in his surname of *Impotent*. His understanding was frigid as his body ; Don Juan de Pacheco ruled with the same absolute dominion over the present monarch as Don Alvaro de Luna had exercised over the late ; and scarce had Henry received the homage of his nobility, before he disgusted them by conferring on his favourite the title of marquis of Villena, and encouraging him to hope for the office of grand-master of St. James. The commons were exasperated by the extravagance, the nobles by the insolence of this new minion of fortune ; and the minister was not

not more odious than the king was contemptible; the jealousy of the latter was extended even to the feeble years of Alfonso and Isabella, the children of Henry by his second marriage; and insensible to the disgrace which had accompanied his separation from Blanch, he solicited the hand of Joanna of Portugal. The ambition of that princess prompted her to become the partner of his throne; yet Joanna in the marriage bed resigned not the claims of nature; and five years after her nuptials were celebrated, her pregnancy was announced; a daughter was born, who was baptised after her mother; was acknowledged heiress to the crown of Castille; and the validity of whose title was recognized by Alfonso and Isabella. Yet every precaution served only to increase the public suspicion; the impotency of Henry was still the favourite theme; nor in the fifteenth century, such had been the progress of depravity, was Spain deficient in examples where the chastity of the wife had been sacrificed by the husband from motives of revenge or policy.

Amidst the general discontent one event darted a ray of lustre through the gloom of administration; and Gibraltar, which had been wrested from the Christians under the reign of Alfonso the eleventh, was recovered from the infidels in that of Henry. The latter had with his usual precipitation engaged in a war with the court of Granada; and the inability with which he conducted it must have exposed him to considerable loss, had not the kingdom of Granada been distracted at that instant with civil commotion; the throne was disputed by two rival princes; and the garrison of Gibraltar had rushed to the field to partake the conflict. It was at this critical moment that a Moor of the name of Zurro was desirous of renouncing the visions of Mahomet for the pure doctrines of Christ; he felt the zeal of a new proselyte; and was ardent to signalize his
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conversion by some act of service to those whose tenets he had determined to espouse; in an age when the lines of civil duty were obscured by superstition, it was not difficult to persuade him that perfidy to those whose faith he had abjured was meritorious. He betrayed the weakness of Gibraltar. A considerable force marched silently from the neighbouring fortress of Tarif; and before the inhabitants could shut the gates part of the assailants had already entered the town, and displayed the Christian standard from the ramparts; the count of Arcos was among the foremost of the daring adventurers; but it was to the duke of Medina Sidonia that the citizens of Gibraltar surrendered; and so elated was Henry with the important acquisition, that in addition to his former titles he assumed that of king of Gibraltar.

It was not alone in Granada that the genius of discord seemed to have established her sway; and the tempest of civil war agitated also the kingdom of Arragon. Hardy, daring, and independent, the character of the Catalans has been always the same; and when the sceptre of Arragon was held by John the second, the inhabitants of Catalonia were impelled by hatred to the consort of their sovereign to erect the standard of revolt. Henry was rather willing than able to avail himself of their rebellion; and he suffered himself to be proclaimed at Barcelona their king. But the assistance he afforded was tardy and inadequate; his favourite the marquis of Villena was averse to the war; and in the prosecution of it, it was deemed prudent to consult Lewis the eleventh, who, as king of France was to be feared as an enemy or courted as an ally.

An interview was appointed between the two kings at Mauleon on the confines of the kingdom of Navarre; and on their meeting their different dispositions were evinced by their contrasted appearance.

ance. Henry, vain, magnificent, and haughty, was attended by a splendid train; Lewis, mean in his person, clad in coarse cloth, short and unbecoming, was slenderly accompanied; but the wealth the former had expended in his sumptuous preparations, the latter employed to bribe the ministers of Castille; the marquis of Villena promised to second the views of the king of France; and with mutual protestations of friendship, Henry and Lewis parted; the former disgusted with the sordidness of the latter; the latter full of contempt for the understanding of the former.

The marquis of Villena hesitated not at the expence of his fidelity to his sovereign, to fulfil the conditions he had entered into with Lewis; and in compliance with the inclinations of that monarch, he soon persuaded Henry to abandon the Catalans to the resentment of their prince; yet the king of Castille had scarce signed the treaty before he was awakened to a sense of his ignominy; and the exile of the marquis from court was the immediate consequence of his disgraceful counsels.

Accustomed to bask in the smiles, the marquis of Villena ill-brooked the frowns of his sovereign. One moment effaced from his memory the favours that had been heaped upon him in the patronage of twenty years; and he was scarce banished from court before he became the favourite of the nobility, who before had considered him as the object of their envy. A powerful confederacy was formed between the high admiral of Castille; the counts of Placentia, Beneventé, and Ossuna; the archbishops of Toledo and Compostella; and the grand-masters of Calatrava and Alcantara; to these the marquis of Villena joined himself; and hoped by his sword not only to regain his wonted ascendancy over the counsels of his sovereign, but to extort from him the high office of grand-master of St. James, the

peculiar object of his ambition, and which the prudence of the king had hitherto withheld. In case Henry refused to gratify the wishes of the conspirators, it was determined to declare him unworthy of the crown, and to place it on the head of his brother Alfonso, from whose youth they might expect a more ready compliance.

It was while the king of Castille was engaged in visiting Gibraltar that he was first informed of the dangerous combination that had been cemented against him; he returned immediately to Madrid; and in the transport of his indignation at the ingratitude of the marquis of Villena, he invested his rival the count of Ladefma with the office of grand-master of St. James; but the intelligence that the king of Arragon had acceded to the league, inclined him to more moderate measures; he consented to an interview with the principal conspirators; promised to redress their grievances; and as a pledge of reconciliation, declared his willingness to bestow the grand-mastership of St. James on the marquis of Villena. In the execution of the treaty the consent of the count of Ladefma was necessary; and the possession of the office could not reflect so much lustre on the character of that nobleman, as did the alacrity with which he resigned it. "I am happy," said he, "as he surrendered the ensigns of the appointment, in rendering service to him to whom I owe all I possess; and of proving to his subjects that he has at least raised one man of merit and fidelity;" the reproof was heard and felt by all; a faint blush overspread the countenance of the marquis of Villena; and though hardened in the commerce of courts, and elated by his triumph over his sovereign, he must for a moment have envied the feelings of his rival.

It is seldom those concessions which are extorted from the crown, are faithfully executed; the nobles of Castille, who yet retained their allegiance, reproached the weakness of Henry; and that prince, ever influenced by the last counsel, determined to assert his dignity in arms. He collected a numerous body of forces; and the confederates heard of his preparations without being dismayed; they published a manifesto in which they upbraided him with having endeavoured to defraud his brother Alfonso of the succession, and to impose in Joanna a supposititious child on the nation. They claimed as one of the privileges of their order the right of trying and passing sentence on their sovereign. That the exercise of this power might be as public and solemn as the pretension to it was bold, they summoned all their party to meet at Avila. A spacious theatre was erected in a plain, without the walls of the town; an image representing the king was seated on a throne, clad in royal robes, with a crown on its head, a sceptre in its hand, and the sword of justice by its side. The accusation against the king was read, and the sentence of deposition was pronounced in presence of a numerous assembly. At the close of the first article of the charge, the archbishop of Toledo advanced, and tore the crown from the head of the image; at the close of the second, the count of Placentia snatched the sword of justice from its side; at the close of the third, the count of Benaventé wrested the sceptre from its hand; and at the close of the last, Don Diego Lopez de Stuniga tumbled it headlong from the throne; and at the same instant Don Alfonso, Henry's brother, was proclaimed king of Castille and León in his place.

At the head of a numerous and loyal army Henry might have despised the farce which had been acted at Avila; but he was again vanquished by the arts

of the marquis of Villena. By the professions of that nobleman he was prevailed upon to dismiss his forces, and to expect the voluntary submission of the confederates; but he was soon awakened from the delusion; Simancas was reduced; Toledo declared for Alfonso; and Henry beheld the spirit of revolt rapidly extending through his dominions. He hastily assembled what troops were still faithful to their oath of allegiance, and advanced to the relief of Medina del Campo, which was besieged by Alfonso. In the plains which stretch around that city he beheld the army of the confederates; and both parties prepared with alacrity for action. The forces of Henry consisted of eight hundred lances, seven hundred light horse, and two thousand infantry; those of Alfonso were nearly equal. Though the understanding of Henry was despised, yet his personal courage had never been doubted; but on this occasion he displayed not the same ardour as had characterized him when prince of Asturias; and the inglorious counsels of his courtiers persuaded him to retire from the conflict. His youthful competitor sustained a nobler part; his banner was unfurled in the front of the line; and the archbishop of Toledo, whose sacred habit was laid aside for a crimson scarf embroidered with white crosses, charged with Alfonso. The shock was violent; and the engagement which was began about noon continued till fatigue and darkness parted the combatants. Five hundred Castilians were extended lifeless on the field; but the loss was mutual; the victory undecided; and both armies dreaded to renew the engagement; and withdrew to their respective camps.

The town of Segovia on the banks of the Araya was soon after surprised by the confederates; but the castle in which were deposited the royal treasures still held out for the king; and Henry received

ceived an ample compensation for the loss of that town in the acquisition of the important city of Toledo. The inhabitants of Toledo had been among the first to declare for Alfonso; and they had lately repulsed the king from their walls; but by one of those sudden transitions which so frequently occur in civil dissensions, they determined to return to their allegiance; they expelled the garrison of the confederates; and proclaimed their joy on the entrance of Henry in tumultuous acclamations.

The rebels, who already laboured under no inconsiderable distress from the censures of the see of Rome, could not but be highly mortified at this instance of desertion; some vigorous effort was necessary to restore the credit of their arms; but before they risked their hopes in a battle, they apparently determined to provide for the safety of their youthful leader. With a strong escort Alfonso prepared to retire to Avila; but he was not allowed to reach that place; the second night of his journey he retired to rest in perfect health, and was found dead, without any marks of violence, in a few hours after.

The sudden and mysterious fate of a young prince whose spirit and abilities were not unequal to the station he aspired to, could not fail to excite suspicion. Yet the reputation of Henry has escaped free from stain; nor has he ever been charged with promoting a death which promised him the greatest advantages. The confederates were not considered as equally guiltless; they were supposed to have dreaded the rising genius of Alfonso; and by poison to have blasted the prospect of a reign which would have controuled their factious turbulence. In the natural weakness of her sex, Isabella offered a fairer instrument to their ambition; yet the prudence of that princess disappointed their views; and to their proffer of the crown, they heard with astonishment her answer; "that it
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“ was not theirs to bestow ; but was held by Henry “ according to the laws of God and man.” Yet she concealed not her pretensions to the succession ; and the revolted lords deprived of a chief, were happy to embrace any opening for negociation ; the king consented to a conference ; waved the claims of Joanna ; acknowledged Isabella as the heiress to his dominions ; and in the immediate, enjoyed the pleasing hope of future tranquillity.

The peace that was established between the king and his nobles, confirmed the marquis of Villena in the post of grand-master of St. James ; yet after the black ingratitude he had been guilty of he could scarcely hope to regain his ascendancy over the mind of his master. But the feeble understanding of Henry required a favourite on whom he could repose the cares of government ; and he returned to his former confidence. The marriage of Isabella was the first object of the new counsels ; and among a variety of pretenders, Ferdinand, who with the title of king of Sicily joined as the son of the king of Arragon and Navarre the succession of those thrones, was considered as the most eligible ; yet he was scarcely preferred, before the marquis of Villena plunged into new intrigues to evade the marriage ; his schemes were traversed by the archbishop of Toledo, who on this occasion seemed actuated by a just sense of his country’s interest. He carried the princess privately to Valladolid, invited the king of Sicily, and pronounced himself the nuptial benediction ; yet in his zeal he neglected not to provide for the supremacy of the Catholick church, the present quiet of Henry, and the future independence of Castille.

Ten articles were presented by the archbishop, and subscribed by the king of Sicily before he received the hand of Isabella. By the first, Ferdinand engaged to acknowledge the pope as head
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of the church, and to maintain all ecclesiastical immunities; by the second, to behave with respect to his brother-in-law Henry, and to conform himself in all things to the accommodation that was made when he acknowledged the princess for his successor. In the third, he stipulated to administer justice impartially, and not to infringe in any respect the laws, usages, prerogatives, or privileges of any of the cities, towns, places, or persons in his dominions, agreeable to the oath taken by the kings of Castille, at their accession. By the fourth, he was not to alienate any town or fortress without the consent of the princess. By the fifth, all orders were to be signed jointly by Ferdinand and Isabella; and no person to be admitted into the council, government, or offices of state, that was not a native of Castille. By the Sixth, all dignities ecclesiastical and civil were to be disposed of by the princess. By the seventh, Ferdinand was to grant a general amnesty with respect to all things which had happened in former civil wars; and was never to set up any claim or pretensions to those lands and estates which his father had possessed in Castille, and which had been given away by the crown, and were in the hands of several of the nobility. By the eighth, that the archbishops of Toledo and Seville, and the grand-master of St. James should ever enjoy their respective ranks in the monarchy, as also all other lords and knights who have steadily adhered to the princess's party, and have contributed to secure to her the succession of the crown. By the ninth, that Ferdinand should reside in the dominions of Castille, and should make war against the Moors as soon as it was in his power; but otherwise should not take up arms without the consent of his consort; in case however that any civil war should break out in Castille, he engaged to furnish as long as it lasted a thousand lances from Arragon

Arragon to remain during that space in the pay of the crown. And by the tenth, that over and above the sum of one thousand florins of gold, the princefs shall have and enjoy the towns of Borga, Magalon, Elcha, and Carvallen in the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, and Syracufe and Cata-nea in the kingdom of Sicily.

Such were the conditions dictated by the arch-bishop of Toledo, and accepted by Ferdinand ; yet though ultimately beneficial, they procured not immediate peace to Castille ; if Henry considered Joanna as his daughter, his feelings must have been wounded by the preference which he had been obliged to give to his sister ; and if conscious of his own impotency, his pride must have been violated by a compromise that implied a tacit confession of the imposture ; the marquis of Villena, ever restless and intriguing, stimulated him to break the treaty which he himself had imposed ; the queen, bold and vindictive, urged him to assert the right of a child who at least called him father ; Henry was not capable of long resisting their counsels and importunities ; he published a manifesto in which he recalled his former concessions, vindicated and confirmed by oath his belief that Joanna was his daughter, and declared her the heiress to his crown ; it was opposed by a proclamation from Ferdinand and Isabella, which warned the people of Castille not to be deluded by the representations of Henry, or the artifices of his favourites ; each party aspired to maintain their claim by argument, but it was by the sword alone that it could be finally decided.

Two negotiations of marriage for Joanna had been entered into by the marquis of Villena, and both had proved abortive ; the first was with the duke of Berri of the blood royal of France ; but Lewis the eleventh, intent on his own aggrandisement, and

and unwilling to increase the power of his brother, listened with coldness to the proposal; the second was with Henry of Arragon, the son of that Henry who had seized the person of John the second, and for ten years embarrassed Castille by his pretensions to the administration; the son was not more successful than the father; his haughty manners offended the Castilian nobility; and his thirst for power excited the jealousy of the marquis of Villena; the latter abandoned his interests; and rested his last hopes of a powerful alliance for Joanna on the king of Portugal; that monarch listened with pleasure to the proposal, and received the favourite with every mark of respect at Lisbon; but on his return, while the marquis of Villena exulted in the success of his negotiations, he was attacked by a mortal disease and expired less lamented by the people whom he had oppressed, than by the sovereign whose confidence he had abused.

Henry himself survived his favourite only to impart to his son the same proofs of regard as he had lavishly bestowed on the father; a slow fever had for some time preyed upon his spirits; and the approach of death was acknowledged by his physicians; he heard the sentence with greater fortitude than might have been expected from a review of his life; and his last breath declared the princess Joanna his daughter and successor; but he could not hope that his will which had been continually opposed when he was alive, should be respected when he was dead; the majority of his subjects declared in favour of Ferdinand and Isabella; they were admitted into Segovia; were put into possession of the royal treasures; and were jointly proclaimed the sovereigns of Castille and Leon.

The decease of Henry did not extinguish the ambitious hopes of Alfonso king of Portugal; at the head of a formidable

A. D. 1434,
1474

army

army he entered Castille, espoused the princess Joanna, and was supported in his claim to the throne by the young marquis of Villena. But at a small distance from Toro his pretensions were decided on a field of battle; after a long struggle the Portuguese were compelled to yield to the superior valour of the Castilians, or the skill of Ferdinand; yet their retreat was conducted with order; and they gained their own frontiers without being pursued by the victors. But in the event of the day they confessed their adverse fortune; the marquis of Villena submitted, and reconciled himself to Ferdinand; the less powerful malecontents followed his example; and Castille breathed at length from the calamities of civil war.

Ferdinand, had scarce established his authority over Castille, before his attention was recalled to Arragon; his aged father John still held the sceptre, but he held it with a feeble hand; famine and pestilence combined with war to depopulate his dominions; in the early part of his reign Lewis the eleventh had lent to him the sum of three hundred thousand crowns; and the important counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne were transferred as the security for the money advanced; the value of a country from which France derives a revenue exceeding an hundred thousand pounds sterling, and which contains above one hundred and eighty-eight thousand inhabitants, was early discerned by Lewis; he refused to restore the pledge he had been trusted with, and maintained the possession of it by force; the succours that Ferdinand could afford his father were few and precarious; the armies of Lewis were numerous and well disciplined; the war was not marked with any interesting occurrence; but the event of it was decisive; and Roussillon and Cerdagne were annexed to the kingdom of France. •

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The distress of his subjects and the ill success of his arms might have occasioned some mortification to John; he had already largely exceeded the common term of humanity; and at the advanced age of eighty-two his death might be hourly expected; he expired at Barcelona; the crown of Navarre, which he had obtained by his marriage with Blanch, passed to the countess of Foix, his daughter by that princess; but Arragon acknowledged and submitted to the pretensions of Ferdinand; and the union of that kingdom under the same monarch as Castille, revived the name, and established the power of modern SPAIN.

CHAPTER IX.

State of the neighbouring powers, when Ferdinand united the crowns of Castille and Arragon.—Of Portugal, Navarre, and Granada.—Of France.—Italy.—Germany.—And England.—Political state of Spain.—Account of the Justiza in Arragon.—Of the Holy Brotherhood.—Address of Ferdinand.—He makes peace with Portugal.—Commences the war with Granada.—Various success.—Exertions of Ferdinand and Isabella.—Dissensions of the Moors.—Ferdinand successively reduces Ronda, Velez, and Malaga.—Domestic history of Abdallah king of Granada.—Granada is invested by the Christians.—Construction of the town of Santa Fe.—Despair of the Moors.—Capitulation of Granada.—Triumphal entry of Ferdinand.—Description of the Alhambra.—Expulsion of the Jews.—Subsequent oppression of the Morescoes.—Progress of navigation.—Discovery of the Fortunate or Canary Islands by the Spaniards.—Extensive discoveries of the Portuguese.—History and character of Christopher Columbus ;—his idea of new countries in the West.—His proposals rejected by Genoa and Portugal.—Are at length accepted by Isabella.—He sails from Palos in Andalusia.

WHEN Ferdinand by marriage and
 A. D. 1479, succession united the kingdoms of Cas-
 1492. tille and Arragon under the name of Spain,
 that peninsula still contained the independent pow-
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ers of Portugal, Navarre, and Granada. The former from Cape Vincent stretched along the sea coast to the mouth of the Minho; it nearly occupied the country of the warlike Lusitanians; and the loss it had sustained on the side of the east, was compensated by an accession of territory towards the north. From the Pyrenean mountains Navarre advanced about sixty miles in breadth to the frontiers of Castille; and extended about seventy-five in length, until bounded on the east by the province of Biscay, and on the west by the kingdom of Arragon. The kingdom of Granada for one hundred and seventy miles ranged along the shores of the Mediterranean; but it had gradually receded before the encroaching spirit of Castille; and its breadth might be estimated at about seventy miles; yet narrow as were its limits, and mountainous its appearance, every deficiency was supplied, and every obstacle overcome by industry; the Moors disdained not the toils of husbandry; beneath their labours the country assumed the face of a garden; and Ferdinand confessed with a sigh of envy and ambition, that the fairest district of Spain was possessed by the natural enemies of his faith and crown.

It was not within the peninsula of Spain that the views of Ferdinand were confined; the neighbouring states of Europe claimed, and partook of his attention. Recovered from the wounds which she had received in her long and repeated conflicts with England, France displayed the features of a mighty and vigorous monarchy. The bloody policy of Lewis the eleventh, though immediately oppressive, had laid the foundation of the grandeur of his successors. He had broken the strength of the nobility, and established the power of the crown. Nine thousand cavalry, and sixteen thousand infantry in regular pay, restrained within the
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bounds of obedience the national levity; his address had allured, or his menaces had intimidated the states to render several taxes perpetual which had been formerly imposed only for a short time; and he had delivered the king from a precarious dependence on the will of his people. By fraud or force he had possessed himself of Burgundy, Artois, and Provence; and his recent acquisition of Roussillon and Cerdagne, pointed him out as the more peculiar object of jealousy and suspicion to Spain.

From the western coast of Spain, the opposite shores of Italy could not but attract the notice of Ferdinand. The fertile kingdom of Naples obeyed a bastard son of the house of Arragon, who had wrested it from that of Anjou; yet the race of the latter was not extinct, nor had they relinquished their title to the Neapolitan crown. The count of Maine and Provence, the heir of this family, conveyed all his rights and pretensions to Lewis the eleventh and his successors; the king of Naples could not revolve without anxiety their formidable claims, nor had he less to dread from the turbulence of his own nobility, ever prompt in arms to assert their enormous privileges, and confederate against their sovereign.

In Venice the form of government was republican; a people who for safety had fled from the sword of the ferocious Attila to the sequestered isles of the Adriatic, and whose habitations might be doubtfully assigned to the earth or water, soon became alike familiar with both. Necessity had early compelled them to penetrate into the heart of Italy by the secure though laborious navigation of the rivers and inland canals; they were impelled by avarice when they were no longer urged by want; their vessels were continually increasing in size and number; and they assiduously visited all the harbours

bours of the gulf. But the Venetian government, which had originated in a number of families, reduced by misfortune to the same level of humble poverty, had in the acquisition of wealth declined from its ancient simplicity; and though its deliberative, legislative, and executive power, as calculated for the order of nobles alone might be regarded as excellent, yet if considered as formed for a numerous body of people, it must have appeared a rigid and partial aristocracy. The republic however rapidly advanced in rank and affluence; the arts of industry and commerce were encouraged; all the nations of Europe depended on it not only for the commodities of the east, which were imported in Venetian bottoms, but for various manufactures fabricated or finished with superior dexterity or elegance; and though the military genius of the citizens of Venice was naturally frigid, or was repressed by the jealousy of her nobles, yet on the sea, her peculiar element, her armaments were conducted with valour and wisdom, and augmented her glory and extended her dominion.

The advantage of trade in sixteen successive centuries had gradually extend Florence from the rock of Fæsulæ to the banks of the Arno. But though the source of her prosperity was nearly the same, her constitution widely differed from that of Venice; it partook as much of democratical turbulence and licentiousness, as the other of aristocratical rigour; but about the middle of the fifteenth century Cosmo of Medicis arose; and Florence beheld herself governed by one of her merchants, without arms and without a title. His wealth, his liberality, and his zeal for learning, established his pre-eminence among his fellow citizens. His riches were dedicated to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and London; and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported

in the same vessel. He gained such an ascendant over the affections as well as the councils of his countrymen, that though the forms of popular government were preserved, and though the various departments of administration were filled by magistrates distinguished by ancient names, and elected in the usual manner, he was in reality the head of the commonwealth; his grandson Lorenzo imitated and surpassed him in generosity and literature, and at least equalled him in authority; and transmitted a considerable degree of his power to his descendants, who ruled in Florence with almost absolute sway.

Genoa had once been the rival of Venice, and disputed with her the sovereignty of the sea. The names and families of her naval commanders, Pisani and Doria, were familiar and illustrious throughout Europe; and their abilities supported her through a contest of one hundred and thirty years; but she was at length compelled to yield to the superior fortune or resources of her implacable enemy; her factions had increased as her strength diminished; and obliged her to seek for domestic peace under the protection of a foreign lord; and alternately to court the controul of the duke of Milan or the French king.

Milan had in the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian æra, been exalted by the emperor of the west into the seat of government; about the middle of the sixth century it had been destroyed by the Burgundians; and three hundred thousand male inhabitants are reported to have perished by the swords of the barbarians; it had risen from its ashes, had resisted the authority, and been overthrown by the arms of the emperor Frederick the first. Yet its depressoire was but transient; and it soon again reared its head, though with diminished splendour; it had scarce suffered more from the
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rage of foreign enemies than from domestic faction; the chief power amidst successive contests had imperceptibly been attained by the Visconti family, who in recompense for their attachment to the imperial interest, had been created dukes of Milan; Valentina, a daughter of that house, had married Lewis duke of Orleans, brother of Charles the sixth; in their marriage contract, which the pope confirmed, it had been stipulated, that upon failure of heirs male in the family of Visconti, the duchy of Milan should descend to the posterity of Valentina and the duke of Orleans. That event took place; and Charles duke of Orleans urged his right to the crown, founded on the contract of his mother Valentina. It was disputed by Alfonso king of Naples, who claimed under the will of the late duke; and by the emperor, who contended that upon the extinction of male issue in the family of Visconti, the fief returned to the superior lord, and was re-annexed to the empire. Both pretensions were rejected by the citizens of Milan themselves, who, enamoured of freedom, aspired to establish a republic; but the jarring interests of each party were favourable to the ambition of Francis Sforza, the natural son of Jacomuzzo Sforza, whose courage and abilities had raised him to be a distinguished leader of those bands which made war a trade, and hired themselves out to different states. Francis succeeded his father in the command of the martial adventurers who had followed his standard; he had married a natural daughter of the late duke of Milan; and this claim, slight in itself, became formidable from his address and valour. After a long struggle he ascended the ducal throne; the defects of his title were forgotten in the admiration of his abilities and virtues, and he was permitted to bequeath in peace his sceptre to his son.

Rome, after having successively submitted to the rapacity of the Goths, the Huns, and the Vandals, trembled at the hostile approach of the Lombards. Famine and pestilence conspired with the rage of the Barbarians against the ancient mistress of the world; her streets were deserted; her edifices exposed to ruin and decay; and the mouldering fabrics were easily overthrown by inundations, tempests, and earthquakes; the imperial magistrates had abandoned the scene of desolation; and towards the close of the sixth century, the reins of government dropped into the hands of her bishop. The name of Gregory must ever be dear to the Vatican; during more than thirteen years that his pontificate lasted, the misery of his flock was alleviated by his incessant care; he introduced order and plenty again into the capital; he deserved and obtained the name of The Father of his Country; he directed the operations of the provincial troops; and repelled by his arms, or diverted by his address, the savage Lombards. The bishops of Italy and the adjacent islands acknowledged the Roman pontiff as their special metropolitan; and during several ages the see of Rome received and claimed no other mark of respect; but towards the beginning of the ninth century, their pretensions to infallibility, as the successors to St. Peter, were revealed; and they asserted their power as heads of the church to universal jurisdiction. Their authority was supported by the superstition and credulity of mankind; in all ecclesiastical controversies their decisions were received as oracles of truth; nor was the plenitude of their power confined solely to what was spiritual. They dethroned monarchs; disposed of crowns; absolved subjects from the obedience due to their sovereigns; and laid kingdoms under interdicts. Their success inspired them with insolence; they forgot the sanctity of their situation; and engaged

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as principals or auxiliaries in every war that was kindled in Europe; the surrounding nations could not remain blind to their inordinate ambition; the veneration for their sacred character began to abate; and towards the close of the fourteenth century was nearly extinguished.

But while their spiritual authority declined, their temporal dominion advanced; and the same turbulent spirit of intrigue that proved fatal to the first was propitious to the last. From the donation of Constantine they pleaded their claim to the greatest part of Italy; but the fictitious deed has been exposed by the pen of Laurentius Valla; and it was from the hasty liberality of Pepin and Charlemagne that we may date their pretensions to a territory beyond the walls of their city; they derived more considerable advantages from the credulity of the Norman adventurers who conquered Naples, and from the superstition of the countess Matilda; and the ecclesiastical state was gradually extended over the Campagna, and embraced several of the adjacent cities.

One general system prevailed through the Italian powers; and while they engaged in perpetual and endless negotiation to adjust the interests of the different states, their contests in the field, when they had recourse to arms, were decided in mock battles, by innocent and bloodless victories. When the danger became more imminent, instead of their own subjects, they had recourse to the *Condottieri*, or leaders of bands, who readily embraced and fought for the party, which allured them by the most ample proffer of pay or plunder.

Of harder mould, the Germans still retained the traces of their antient ferocity and martial spirit; when the successors of Charlemagne relaxed from the vigour of his administration, every baron exercised a sovereign jurisdiction within his own domains;

every duke and count aspired to independence; and towards the middle of the thirteenth century, the imperial authority had dwindled into an empty title. Rodolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the house of Austria, had been elected emperor; not that he might re-establish order, but because his territories were too inconsiderable to excite the jealousy of the German princes: several of his successors were raised to the throne from the same motive; and almost every prerogative was wrested from their feeble hands. The capacity of Frederic of Austria, the third emperor of that name, was far from vigorous; he listened with terror to the progress of the Turks, who had planted the standard of Mahomet on the walls of Constantinople; he trembled for the safety of his capital; and his embarrassments were increased by an unsuccessful war which he had waged in hopes of the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. Unfortunate abroad, he was despised at home; and, during his reign, the calamities of the German empire rapidly multiplied; the causes of dissension among its numerous members were infinite; and these gave rise to perpetual private wars, which were carried on with all the violence that usually accompanies resentment, when unrestrained by superior authority. Rapine, outrage, and exaction, became universal; the cities united in a league to check the pride and oppression of the nobility; the nobility formed confederacies to maintain tranquillity among their own order; Germany was divided into several circles, in each of which a provincial and partial jurisdiction was established to supply the place of a public tribunal; but the remedy was ineffectual; and the empire was still involved in darkness and anarchy, when on the death of Frederic, his son Maximilian succeeded to the imperial crown, who had been previously elected king of the Romans, and who
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by his marriage with the daughter of Charles of Burgundy had acquired Flanders, Franche-Comté, and the Low Countries.

The arms and victories of Henry and Edward in France had diffused throughout Europe the name and renown of the English; their valour had been immediately felt in Spain in the revolution which restored Peter the Cruel; but the minority of Henry the Sixth had been fatal to those conquests which had been obtained by the mature policy and courage of his father; and in France, Calais alone had stemmed the returning torrent which had overwhelmed the fortunes of the English; during more than twenty years England herself had been distracted by the rival pretensions of the houses of York and Lancaster; and though the ascendancy of the former seemed established in the reign of Edward the fourth, the embers of civil war were rather concealed than extinguished.

Such was the situation of the principal powers of Europe, when Ferdinand united the crowns of Castile and Arragon; and though his territories were considerable, and the general disposition of his neighbours pacific, yet his ambitious views were contracted by the limits which were placed to his authority; the privileges of the nobility in Castile; the immunities of several of the cities; and the influence they possessed in the *Cortes*, or assembly of the states, restrained the will of the sovereign; the military orders of St. James, Calatrava, and Alcántara, rivalled him in power; and although in Arragon the form of government was monarchical, the genius of it was purely republican. The real authority was vested in the parliament, which consisted of four different descriptions. The nobility of the first rank; the equestrian order, or nobility of the second class; the representatives of the cities and towns; and the dignitaries of the church,

church, with the deputies of the inferior clergy. No law could pass in this assembly without the assent of every single member; peace, war, and revenue, depended on their resolutions; and they claimed the privilege of inspecting every department of justice and administration, and of redressing all grievances. According to a regulation introduced at the commencement of the fourteenth century, the *Cortés* was convoked once in two years; after it was assembled, the king had no right to prorogue or dissolve it without its own consent; and the session continued forty days.

Besides her parliament, Arragon possessed another institution peculiar to herself in her justiza, or supreme judge; this officer was chosen by the king from the second class of nobility; but he could be removed only by the voice of the Cortes. He acted as the protector of the people, and the comptroller of the prince; his person was sacred; his power and jurisdiction were almost unlimited; he was the supreme interpreter of the laws; had a title to review all the royal proclamations and patents; by his sole authority could exclude any of the king's ministers from the conduct of affairs; could call them to answer for their mal-administration; and he was himself solely accountable to the Cortes for the manner in which he executed his high office. It was through him the Arragonese pronounced their oath of allegiance; and the words of it sufficiently proclaim their jealousy of the throne, and their love of independence: "We," said the justiza to the king, in the name of his high-spirited barons, "who are each of us as good as you, and who are altogether more powerful than you, promise obedience to your government if you maintain our rights and liberties; but not otherwise." Nor were these lofty expressions a vain form; but according to their oath, they established it as a fundamental

damental article in their constitution, that if the king should violate their privileges, it was lawful for the people to disclaim him as their sovereign, and to elect another (even a heathen) in his place.

Had Ferdinand presumed publicly to have exalted the power of the crown at the expence of the people, he most likely must have fallen in the unequal contest; but he proceeded silently to undermine that strength which he dared not openly attack; his profound sagacity in concerting his measures, his persevering industry in conducting them, and his uncommon address in carrying them into execution, fitted him admirably for an undertaking which required all these talents. He prevailed on the knights of St. James to place him at the head of that order; and when his reputation was established by the success of the Moorish war, he influenced by threats or promises the fraternities of Calatrava and Alcantara to follow the example of that of St. James; and to elect as their chiefs Isabella and himself. Innocent the eighth, and Alexander the sixth confirmed the choice by the sanction of the papal authority; subsequent pontiffs rendered the masterships perpetual in the crown; and a new accession of power and revenue was imparted to the kings of Spain.

Another engine in the hands of Ferdinand was the *Holy Brotherhood*; that name had been appropriated to an association, which about the middle of the thirteenth century had been formed by the cities of Arragon, and in which they were soon after imitated by those of Castille. The Holy Brotherhood exacted a certain contribution from each of the associated towns; they levied a considerable body of forces in order to protect travellers, and to pursue criminals; they appointed judges who opened their courts in various parts of the kingdom; whoever was guilty of murder, robbery, or
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of any act that violated the public peace, was seized by their troops, was carried before judges of their nomination who, without paying any regard to the exclusive and sovereign jurisdiction which the lord of the place might claim, tried and condemned the criminal. But this salutary institution which restored, with the prompt and impartial administration of justice, internal order and tranquillity, was regarded with peculiar jealousy by the nobles, whose castles were too often the seats of oppression, and who complained of this new fraternity as an encroachment on one of their most valuable privileges; they remonstrated against it in an high tone; and on some occasions refused to grant any aid to the crown unless it were abolished; Ferdinand was sensible however not only of the good effects of the Holy Brotherhood with respect to the police of his kingdoms, but perceived its tendency to abridge, and at length to annihilate, the territorial jurisdiction of the nobility; whenever attacked, he invariably protected it; and when supported by the whole force of royal authority, the nobles of Spain found themselves incapable of resisting its weight.

Yet whatever advantages Ferdinand might derive from these measures, he could never hope without a numerous and obedient army to establish the dignity of the crown on a broad and solid basis; and he was conscious it was only in a long and successful war that the troops of Spain could be trained to discipline, and accustomed to respect the voice of their sovereign. On his accession to the throne of Arragon he had been desirous of terminating his differences with Portugal by an equal and honourable treaty; that court consented to resign all pretensions on Castille, and to relinquish the hand of the princess Joanna; the articles were finally signed at Alcacovas; and Ferdinand at peace with his

his Christian neighbours, revolved in the Moorish kingdom of Granada a more popular object of hostilities:

The sceptre of Granada was at that critical moment held by Abul Hossain, who in his youth had been distinguished by his valour, and in his age was not found deficient in spirit. Though embarrassed by the pretensions of his son Abdalla, who was impatient of sovereignty, he declined not the impending contest; and to the demand of tribute that was urged by Ferdinand, boldly replied, "That in the same place where they coined money at Granada, they forged arms also to defend it." The answer sunk deep in the mind of Ferdinand; and no sooner was he delivered by his treaty with Portugal from all apprehensions on that side of his dominions, than he encouraged the marquis of Cadiz to invade the Moorish territories; the inroad of that Castilian nobleman was regarded by the Moors as the act of his sovereign; they flew to arms to avenge it; they surprised the town of Zahara on the confines of Andalusia; placed a strong garrison in the citadel which arose on a craggy rock, and was deemed impregnable; and swept away the inhabitants into captivity. The capture of Zahara was retaliated by that of Alhama, which is situated about twenty-five miles from Granada, and is still celebrated for the salubrity of its baths. A Spanish officer had remarked the weakness and negligence of the garrison; he imparted his observations to the marquis of Cadiz; and a select detachment marched under his conduct, scaled the walls of the castle, and massacred the slender band that had been left to guard it; the citizens in the town below still continued to defend themselves; but their tumultuous valour was ineffectual against the ardour and rapacity of the assailants; three thousand who escaped the sword became the slaves
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of the Christian victors; and expiated by their sufferings the fate of the inhabitants of Zahara.

These desultory enterprises were only the prelude to a more serious conflict for which the Moors and Christians anxiously prepared themselves; the forces of Granada were first in motion; the royal standard was unfurled; and Abul Hossain rushed forwards at the head of three thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry to recover Alhama. The reputation of Ferdinand was equally concerned to protect it; the zeal of his nobility enabled him to assemble a numerous army; and the garrison of Alhama had scarce felt the calamities of a siege, before they beheld the banners of their sovereign advancing to their relief; Abul Hossain dreaded to encounter his adversary in the open field; yet twice he resumed the enterprise, and as often abandoned it on the approach of Ferdinand; nor were the Christians exempt in their turn from lamenting the vicissitudes of war; and the king of Spain after beholding the bravest of his followers perish in the fruitless attempt, was compelled to retire with disgrace from the walls of Loxa.

The repulse only served to stimulate Ferdinand to more vigorous efforts; his ardour was participated or surpassed by Isabella; the influence of superstition was called to their assistance; and the people readily believed the moment was arrived which had been so long predicted, when the disciples of Mahomet were to be expelled from Spain; every province displayed the busy face of war; every port resounded with naval armaments; formidable armies were levied, and numerous squadrons equipped; and the supplies which were granted with liberality by the states, were managed with economy by Isabella. Yet though their resources were far inferior, and divided by domestic contention, the resistance of the Moors was by no means

means inglorious. Abdalla the son of Houssein had seized the capital of Granada, and rejected the authority of his father. He was impatient to sanction his unnatural revolt by some signal and splendid achievements. As a strong detachment of the Christians under the marquis of Cadiz climbed the steep mountains of Axarguira, in the neighbourhood of Malaga, they were suddenly assailed by an ambuscade of the Moors, who arose from their craggy lurking-places, and rushed to the attack with dissonant shouts. The ranks of the Spaniards were already disordered by their march over broken ground; the soldiers were confounded by the unexpected charge; an instantaneous panic was communicated to every bosom; and though the marquis of Cadiz by the swiftness of his horse escaped through secret paths, the greater part of his followers perished by the sword of the infidels. The success of his countrymen elated Abdalla; he marched from Granada, and advanced without beholding an enemy to the frontiers of Andalusia. But he was not suffered to retreat with the same impunity; the count of Cabra, with a select band of cavalry, flew to chastise his temerity; a thick mist concealed their approach, which was dispelled by the sun, when the infidels beheld with terror the Christian squadron ready to charge their rear. They were themselves incumbered with spoil; they were ignorant of the number of their adversaries; and the error into which they were betrayed extinguished all confidence in their leader; each man was only solicitous for his personal safety; and, the moment that the trumpets of the enemy sounded, the rout began. Amidst dismay and slaughter Abdalla was not more conspicuous for the splendour of his arms than for his daring valour; two horses were slain under him in fruitless efforts to animate and rally his trembling and broken troops; but the day was
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irrecoverably lost; the prince himself was gradually surrounded and oppressed; his golden armour adorned with jewels was the prize for which the crowd contended; and Abdalla would probably have fallen a victim to the avarice of the soldiers, had he not been rescued from their hands by the count de Cabra, anxious to preserve the most glorious mark of his victory.

In Cordova, Ferdinand and Isabella received their royal captive; and Abdalla entered in chains that city which had been the seat of his ancestors' power and magnificence. Yet he was not suffered to regret long the loss of freedom; Abul Hossain exulted in the disgrace of his rebellious son, and delivered from the immediate dread of a formidable competitor, prepared to continue the war with increase of vigour. To distract the measures of the Moors it was resolved to release Abdalla; and that prince subscribed to whatever terms were proposed as the price of liberty. He consented to become the vassal of Spain, and to pay an annual tribute of twelve thousand crowns; but the conditions which had been imposed in the hour of subjection were broken on the return of freedom; nor did Abdalla blush at a violation which was sanctioned by the precepts of Mahomet.

Yet the advantages of restoring the Moorish prince to his countrymen were such as Ferdinand and his council had foreseen; while the Christian arms in four campaigns successively recovered Zahara, reduced Ronda, Velez, and Malaga; and displayed their victorious banners on the banks of the Rio Verde, and the shores of the Mediterranean, the strength of the Moors was consumed in a wide and bloody civil war. Abul Hossain resisted the pretensions of his son Abdalla, but he was forced to yield to the superior fortune or address of his brother Mohammed el Zagal, whose ambition was

not restrained by the guilt of fratricide. Yet on the throne Mohammed was instructed, how ill he could depend on the fidelity of his subjects; the ties of society were dissolved; the regal title had lost its weight; and the Moors were eager for new revolutions. Abdalla with a chosen band surprised or was admitted into Granada; and the reign of Mohammed was confined to the southern corner of Andalusia, which is watered by the Rio Verde. The strong fortress of Baza was besieged by the forces of Spain; in a desperate fall the garrison indulged themselves in an useless carnage of their enemies; but it was the struggle of expiring independence; Mohammed himself was deserted among the Moors as a cruel usurper, and dreaded by the Spaniards as an active and enterprising foe; the few partners of his hopes or associates of his crimes were industrious to secure themselves by a timely submission; Guadix and Almaria opened their gates to Ferdinand; after a gallant defence of eight months Baza was obliged to capitulate; and Mohammed stripped of his dominions, from the just revenge of his nephew appealed to the generosity of the Christians; an ample estate was granted to him by Ferdinand for the support of his dignity; he was prevailed upon to employ his valour in the field against his countrymen; and the plains of Granada were ravaged by his followers; yet the applause of his new allies, could not drown the reproaches of his mind; he awakened to the infamy of waging war against his Moslem brethren; and he solicited and obtained permission to seek a retreat in Africa with the Moors who preferred their ancient faith to their native habitations.

Whatever might be the exultation of Abdalla at the abdication and retreat of Mohammed, it was alloyed by a review of his own distress and danger. He had been besieged by the Christians within the walls

walls of Loxa; and though in repeated sallies his valour had been displayed, his fortune had not been changed; covered with wounds, the honourable testimonies of his intrepidity, he had been compelled to sign a capitulation which delivered Loxa to the enemies of his faith, and confessed himself once more their vassal; he was permitted to retire to Granada; and it was not long before that last retreat was assailed by his enemies.

The conquest of Granada has been adorned by the romantic fancy of Dryden; the circumstances on which he founded his play have been collected by an ingenious modern traveller; and though perhaps they command not our belief, they admirably illustrate the spirit and manners of the age. The most powerful families in the reign of Abdalla were the Abencerrages and Alabeces, the Zegris and Gomeles. High above the rest towered the Abencerrages, unequalled in gallantry, magnificence, and chivalry; of these Albin Hamet stood deservedly the foremost in the favour of his sovereign. His influence excited the envy of the Zegris and Gomeles, and to accomplish his ruin, they descended to the blackest artifice. An insidious villain of the race of Zegri availed himself of his intimacy with the king to insinuate a dark tale of treason and adultery; he affirmed the Abencerrages to be ready to rise in arms; and assured the monarch, that in the gardens of the palace of Alhambra, he had surprized Hamet in wanton dalliance with the queen. The story found ready admission into a jealous bosom; and the house of Abencerrage was doomed to destruction. They were summoned successively to attend the king in the court of Lions; and no sooner was each unhappy victim admitted within the walls, than he was seized by the Zegris and beheaded. Thirty-six of the noblest had already perished, when the bloody perfidy was revealed by a
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page who had escaped after witnessing his master's execution. The news was rapidly circulated; all Granada flew to arms; and the streets were deluged with the blood of the contending factions. The authority or address of Musa, a bastard brother of the king, prevailed on them to suspend their rage; and to the chiefs of his nation Abdalla explained the source of his conduct; the conspiracy of the Abencerrages, and the adultery of the queen. At the same time he solemnly pronounced the sentence of the latter; and she was to be delivered alive to the flames in thirty days, if she did not produce four knights to vindicate in arms her innocence against four of her accusers. The bravest warriors of Granada were emulous to enter the lists in her defence; but it was to a Christian sword the royal criminal entrusted her cause. She conveyed a letter to Don Juan de Chacon, lord of Carthagená, and invoked him by the generous duties of knighthood to become her champion, and to bring with him three valiant friends. The answer of Chacon assuaged her fears, and assured her that he too highly valued the honour she had conferred on him to be absent at the hour of trial. On the fatal day the populace accused the negligence of their queen, who had not named her defenders; Musa, Azarque, and Almoradi, the judges of the combat, intreated her in vain to accept their services; she reposed with security on the Castilian faith, and descended with a firm step from the Alhambra to the scene of encounter; the lists were prepared; the trumpets of the Zegri sounded; and from eight in the morning till two at noon their defiance was unanswered; but when the anxiety of the multitude was increased to the highest pitch, and even the confidence of the queen was shaken, a shout of transport burst from the crowd; four horsemen, armed after the manner of the

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the Turks, entered the square; one of them requested permission to address the queen; and as he knelt before her, he let drop the letter she had written to Don Juan; she instantly acknowledged her Christian champions, and declared her willingness to rest her innocence on their valour and success. With Don Juan, the duke of Arcos, Don Alonzo de Aguillar, and Don Ferdinand de Cordova shared the glory and danger of the romantic and perilous adventure. On the signal, they furiously spurred their couriers against their adversaries, and three of the Zegri were instantly overthrown and extended lifeless on the plain; the fourth, the traitor himself who had forged the falsehood, maintained a more obstinate struggle; but he sunk at length covered with wounds at the foot of Don Ferdinand; and his last breath confessed his treason, and the innocence of the queen. Amidst the acclamation of the multitude, and the congratulations of the Moorish chiefs, the victorious knights retired without disclosing their nation or quality; but though Abdalla in tears repented his credulity, he could not efface the resentment, or change the settled purpose of the queen; she renounced for ever his society, and sought a retreat in the kingdoms of Fez or Morocco; a similar indignation was felt by the Abencerrages; they quitted Spain; and Granada was deprived of her ablest champions at the moment that they were most necessary to her defence.

Whatever might be the domestic griefs of Abdalla, he was allowed but a short time to indulge them: he had scarce received the intelligence of the reduction of Baza, and the submission of Mohammed, before he was embarrassed by the presence of the ambassadors of Ferdinand, who demanded in the name of their master the surrender of Granada. In many a bloody encounter Abdalla had

had experienced his own inferiority ; in prolonging the contest he was probably destitute of hope ; and however rigorous, he would have gladly subscribed any conditions which would have preserved the Moors of Granada as a people. But the decent pride of a prince was still cherished in adversity ; nor could he sign without a struggle the final extinction of a kingdom which had flourished beneath the government of the Moslems for above seven hundred years. His answer revealed his fallen state ; he acknowledged his obligation and engagements to Ferdinand ; but he prudently eluded them under the pretence that he was no longer master of his own capital, and that on the first intimation of the treaty, the indignation of the Moors would be fatal to his life.

Abdalla flattered not himself that any reply could divert the purpose of Ferdinand ; he prepared for war ; and in her prosperity, the kingdom of Granada would not have been unequal to the contest. Thirty cities, and ninety-seven fortified towns were once included within the limits of her jurisdiction ; and a tribute of seven hundred thousand crowns in gold was not only sufficient for the support of a large standing army, but might have allured the rapacious tribes of Africa to have crossed the sea in her defence. But when Abdalla dismissed the ambassadors of Ferdinand, the kingdom of Granada was confined to her walls or to the adjacent plain ; and of four hundred thousand inhabitants which in her most flourishing state those walls contained, scarce one hundred thousand remained to share the danger or increase the calamities of a siege. Yet these were inflamed by sullen despair and religious fanaticism ; the first taught them to die ; the last promised after death, paradise, the sacred reward of the faithful.

For that reward they were not permitted long to sigh in vain ; and the ardour of Ferdinand and Isabella to plant the standard of Christ on the last retreat of the Mahometans of Spain, was communicated to their subjects. The Cortes and principal cities of Castille and Arragon, contributed with alacrity to the glorious enterprize ; their liberality was emulated by the clergy, desirous of signalizing their zeal in a cause consecrated by religion ; an army of seventy thousand soldiers whose valour had been already approved, and discipline confirmed in repeated conflicts with the infidels, marched beneath the conduct of Ferdinand himself. They were animated by the presence of Isabella ; and the chivalry of Spain, who admired her manly spirit, were impatient to merit her approbation ; as they moved along they laid waste the fertile plains of Granada ; and in the ninth year from the commencement of the Moorish war, they incamped beneath the walls of the devoted city.

On the banks of the Xenil and the Dauro, and at the extremity of a pleasant and fertile vale, the city of Granada occupies a strong and commodious station ; but in a contest where the forces were so unequal, neither her natural position, nor the enthusiasm of her citizens, could preserve her independence ; the despair of the Moors repeatedly precipitated them against the lines of the besiegers ; but their sallies, the effusions of rage and fanaticism, were more frequently fatal to themselves than their adversaries ; the Spaniards carried on their approaches with caution and regularity ; and one incident alone served transiently to revive and finally to confound the hopes of the infidels ; as Isabella beguiled the hours of the night in reading, her taper, negligently placed, involved in an instant her apartment in flames ; she escaped from the fire ; but it was rapidly communicated to the camp, which
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was constructed of huts thatched with reeds or straw. On the first alarm Ferdinand half dressed mounted on horseback, and flew with the cavalry he could hastily assemble to repulse the attempts of the besieged ; his firm posture awed the Moors ; and they were content with observing the conflagration. But the misfortune served only to stimulate Isabella to a new undertaking ; and she determined to provide against a similar accident in future. Two long and broad streets were traced in the form of a cross ; the neighbouring quarries supplied plenty of stone, and the work was facilitated by the skill and labour of the pioneers ; instead of a camp a city arose ; from the piety of its royal foundress it obtained the name of *Santa Fe*, or Holy Faith ; and its construction sufficiently revealed the perseverance and resolution of the besiegers.

Many an anxious look was cast by the unhappy citizens of Granada towards the coast of Africa ; but the Mahometan kings of Fez and Morocco were too intent on each others destruction to prop the sinking fortunes of their brethren in Spain ; and the famine which raged through the city was aggravated by the plenty which flowed into the camp. Affailed by the sword, and exasperated by hunger, the Moors abandoned themselves to all the horrors of despair ; they crowded round the tombs of their ancestors, and invoked their assistance ; they filled the moschs with their cries, and alternately deprecated the wrath, or blasphemed the name of their prophet ; thence starting to arms they issued tumultuously from the gates, and rushed against the works of the besiegers ; but Ferdinand could rely on the strength of his fortifications ; he patiently awaited the effects of famine ; nor exposed his soldiers to the headstrong fury of the infidels. Disappointed of a glorious, they returned to the terrors of a lingering death ; they sur-

rounded the Alhambra, menaced the life of their sovereign, and pursued him with execrations as the author of their miseries.

At length the tempest seemed to have exhausted its force ; the multitude oppressed by fatigue sunk into a momentary silence ; and the transient calm was improved by Abdalla to obtain all that he could now hope for, an honourable capitulation. Ferdinand was too desirous to secure his triumph to hesitate on the terms ; the articles were formally ratified by an oath ; the Moorish king consented to surrender his palaces and capital ; to do homage, and swear allegiance to the victor ; to set at liberty all Christian slaves without ransom ; and to deliver five hundred of the principal inhabitants as securities for the punctual execution of the treaty. In return, Ferdinand engaged to protect the vanquished in the possession of their arms, their horses, and their estates ; to preserve their mosques inviolate, and allow them the free exercise of their religion ; to govern them according to their own laws, and to choose from among themselves their magistrates ; to abate during the term of three years their taxes, and never to impose heavier than those which they had been subject to under their former kings ; and to provide shipping for all who should wish to dispose of their lands, and to retire with their effects to Africa.

If humanity could not influence Ferdinand, policy at least prompted to him alleviate the distress of a people who were so speedily to become his subjects ; and no sooner were the hostages delivered than plenty was poured into the famished city ; relieved from the immediate terror of a slow and painful death, the concern of the Moors revived for the honour of their nation and the sanctity of their faith. A wild enthusiast rekindled the rage of the multitude ; his voice was heard through the streets

streets denouncing the indignation of Mahomet, and menacing with the flames of hell those who impiously treated with the followers of Christ; a motley group of twenty thousand fanatics obeyed his summons, and besieged the gates of the Alhambra; Abdalla could no longer command, and the frantic insurgents derided his intreaties; but they trembled at the menace of Ferdinand; the king of Spain threatened to intercept all further supplies, and to avenge on the hostages their guilt. They were awakened by the stern admonition to a sense of their forlorn condition; the last murmur of resistance expired, and they submitted to the will of their conqueror.

It was on the second day of January, in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-two, that Ferdinand and Isabella entered in triumph the prostrate city of Granada; as they advanced towards the Alhambra they were met by Abdalla, accompanied by fifty horse; the Moorish prince alighted from his courser, pronounced with a dejected countenance and tremulous voice the degrading words, "We are your slaves, invincible monarch; we deliver up this city and kingdom to your clemency and moderation;" he would have fallen at the feet of his lord and master, but he was prevented by Ferdinand, whose spirit was neither moved by adulation, nor capable of generosity; he promised the royal suppliant a safe retreat, and an income adequate to his dignity; but Abdalla could not forget he had once been a king; the presence of the victor must have been irksome to him; he solicited and obtained leave to retire to Africa. As from a neighbouring hill he cast a look on his palace and capital, a torrent of tears proclaimed the anguish of his soul; his grief was reproved by the indignant reply of his mother the sultaneſs Ayxa, "Thou doſt well to weep like a woman for that king-
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“ dom which thou knewest not how to die for like
“ a man.”

The inmost recesses and glories of the Alhambra were thrown open to the eyes of Ferdinand; as in the pride of victory he passed through the *gates of judgment*, the Christian chief might have been instructed by the humble piety of the Mussulman; and the frequent inscription on the walls, *there is no conqueror but God*, might have checked the insolence of prosperity; but the moment of success is seldom propitious to admonition; and it is not probable that the instability of his own fortune, and the fallen state of Abdalla recurred to the mind of the victor, while he gazed on those wonders which have resisted the rage of time, and still command the admiration of the traveller.

The exterior of the Alhambra presents a rough and irregular pile of buildings which forms a striking contrast to the order and elegance within. Through a simple and narrow gate, the spectator is conducted to a series of beauties which almost realize the fabulous Tales of the Genii. The bath, the first object which strikes his sight, consists of an oblong square with a deep basin of clear water in the middle; two flights of marble steps leading down to the bottom; on each side a parterre of flowers, and a row of orange trees. The court is incircled with a peristyle paved with marble; the arches bear upon very slight pillars, in proportions and style different from all the regular orders of architecture. The ceilings and walls are incrustated with fret work in stucco, so minute and intricate, that the most patient draughtsman would find it difficult to follow it unless he made himself master of the general plan. The former are gilt or painted; and time has not faded the colours, though they are constantly exposed to the air; the lower part of the latter is Mosaic, disposed in fantastical

tastic knots and festoons; a work new, exquisitely finished, and exciting the most agreeable sensations.

From the bath a second door opens into the court of the lions, an hundred feet in length, and fifty in breadth, environed with a colonade seven feet broad on the sides, and ten at the end; the roof and gallery are supported by slender columns of virgin marble, fantastically adorned; and in the centre of the court are the statues of twelve lions, which bear upon their backs a large bason, out of which rises a lesser. A volume of water thrown up, falls again into the bason, passes through the beasts, and issues out of their mouths into a large reservoir, whence it is communicated to the other apartments.

These apartments are decorated with whatever the art of the age could invent or commerce could supply. The floors glitter with marble; the walls and the windows are enriched with mosaic; and through the latter the rays of the sun gleam with a variety of light and tints on the former; the air is perpetually refreshed by fountains; and the double roof equally excludes the extremes of heat and cold; from every opening shady gardens of aromatic trees, beautiful hills, and fertile plains meet the eye; nor is it to be wondered that the Moors still regret the delights of Granada, and still offer up their prayers for the recovery of that city, which they deem a terrestrial paradise.

While Ferdinand gazed with admiration on his new conquests, his bigoted mind revolved a scheme equally injurious to their interests and his own. In almost every age and country the Jews have been the objects of contempt and persecution; yet in oppression that unhappy race have continually multiplied; and their address in pecuniary negotiations has not been more advantageous to themselves, than to the government in which they have been

been tolerated. But the understanding had not yet burst from the shackles of bigotry ; and the fifteenth century was still darkened by religious prejudice ; no sooner had Ferdinand celebrated his triumph than he commanded all the Jews who would not embrace the Christian faith, to quit his dominions within six months. Their attachment to the law of Moses was superior to every other consideration, and the effects they could conceal from the vigilant rapacity of the conqueror, they transported with them into Africa ; in Tunis and Algiers they preserved their peculiar rites and unsocial manners ; and have gradually increased in number and riches under the most arbitrary and sanguinary government.

If the Jews accused the humanity, the Moors might impeach the faith of Ferdinand and his successors. Every article of the capitulation was in its turn eluded or openly violated ; and they were reduced to the alternative of renouncing the koran, or abandoning their native country. About seventy years after the taking of Granada they were driven into revolt by the rigour of administration ; as they acted without allies and almost without concert, they were after a bloody struggle of above two years subdued. And at the commencement of the seventeenth century, their doom was finally signed by Philip the third. Every person of Moorish extraction without exception was commanded under the severest penalties to retire out of Spain ; the order in appearance was punctually obeyed ; yet an edict in the beginning of the eighteenth century assures us that several preferred their native soil, though with the sword suspended over their heads ; about that period a fresh persecution was kindled by the breath of the inquisition ; the wretched remnant of the Moorish race was driven into exile, and their effects,

effects, which were estimated at twelve millions of crowns, were confiscated.

From the conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella to the present time, the joint numbers of the Jews and Moors, who have been banished or sacrificed to the bigotry and rigour of the Spanish government, are supposed to have amounted to two millions of persons; the loss of so many industrious hands has been severely felt; and the traveller who beholds the present state of Granada, can scarcely credit her ancient prosperity. Instead of luxuriant plantations and venerable forests, the eye is assailed by black and barren wastes; and it is only in the massy ruins which are scattered over the hills, that her former magnificence can be traced.

But to an inaccurate observer, the detriment which Spain sustained by the expulsion of the Moors, was compensated by an event extraordinary as it was important to Europe. The discovery of the mariner's compass in the dawn of the fourteenth century had encouraged the navigators to abandon their ancient timid and lingering course along the shore, and to launch boldly into the ocean; about the middle of that century a more enterprising spirit guided the Spaniards to the Canary or Fortunate Islands, near five hundred miles from their own coast; and above an hundred and fifty from that of Africa. Yet the chief glory of penetrating beyond those limits which nature seemed to have imposed, and of opening a new field to the daring genius of men, must be ascribed to the Portuguese. The situation of their kingdom, bounded on every side by the dominions of a more powerful neighbour, did not afford free scope to their activity by land, and the sea remained the only theatre on which they could distinguish themselves. About the beginning of the fifteenth century their vessels explored the coast

coast of Africa, doubled *Cape Horn*, which had bounded the progress of former navigators, and reached *Cape Bojador*. Beneath the auspices of prince Henry, who to the martial spirit of the times added all the accomplishments of a more enlightened and polished age, the Portuguese rapidly advanced in the study of geography and the science of navigation; they discovered and planted the islands of *Porto Santo*, and *Madeira*; the wines and sugars which were imported from the latter, encouraged them to proceed; they doubled *Cape Bojador*, advanced within the tropics, and in the space of a few years reached the river *Senegal*, and became familiar with the coast from *Cape Blanco* to *Cape de Verd*; the countries which they had discovered were confirmed to them by the papal authority; and they were exhorted to proceed in their laudable career by the bull which granted to them an exclusive right over all the regions which they should descry from *Cape Horn* to the continent of *India*.

To gain that continent by a shorter route than hitherto had been known, was the darling object of the Portuguese councils; the spirit of nautical adventure received some check from the death of prince Henry, and slumbered during the warlike reign of *Alfonso*; but it revived under *John the second*; *Bartholomew Diaz*, an officer whose sagacity, experience, and fortitude, admirably qualified him for the undertaking, stretched boldly to the south, and after encountering a succession of tempests in unknown seas, beheld his labours and perseverance crowned by the lofty promontory which bounds Africa on that side; to behold it was all that the violence of the winds, the shattered condition of his ships, and the turbulent spirit of his crew allowed him: the appellation of *Cabo Tormentoso*, or the *Stormy Cape*, was expressive of the
boisterous

boisterous elements which forbade his nearer approach; but on his return the name was changed by the discernment of his sovereign; and it received and retained that of the Cape of *Good Hope*, the auspicious omen of future success.

But while John revolved the means of improving the discovery of Bartholomew Diaz, a new and more distinguished character arose, whose genius, vast and fertile as the countries he explored, with them, must command the admiration of posterity. Christopher Columbus was a subject of the republic of Genoa; and though neither the time nor place of his birth can be accurately ascertained, was descended of an honourable though impoverished family. The indigence of his ancestors had compelled them to a sea-faring life; and the disposition of Columbus was happily adapted to the profession which necessity had imposed on him. He had acquired some knowledge of the Latin tongue; and had been instructed, and had rapidly perfected himself, in geometry, cosmography, astronomy, and the art of drawing; thus peculiarly qualified he began his career on that element which conducted him to so much glory. For five years his adventurous spirit was confined within the limits of the Mediterranean, or exercised in voyages to the northern seas or coasts of Iceland; he afterwards entered into the service of a famous sea captain of his own name and family; and displayed his courage in frequent cruises against the Mahometans and Venetians; in an obstinate engagement with the latter, off the coast of Portugal, the vessel on board which he served took fire, together with one of the enemies ships; amidst the general horror, his presence of mind did not forsake him; he threw himself into the sea, and with the assistance of an oar reached the land though at the distance of two leagues.

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The ardent spirit of Columbus could not be appalled by danger; and no sooner had he recovered his strength than he repaired to Lisbon, and entered into the Portuguese service, the school for nautical adventure. He was soon esteemed for his skill and experience; and his marriage with a Portuguese lady, the daughter of Bartholomew Pares-trallo, one of the captains who had discovered and planted the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira, confirmed him in his darling pursuit; he got possession of the journals and charts of that celebrated navigator; and indulged his impatience to visit the countries Pares-trallo had described, in frequent voyages to Madeira, the Canaries, and the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa.

The reputation of a skilful navigator satisfied not the ambition of Columbus; his mind, naturally vigorous and inquisitive, revolved new schemes of discovery; he reviewed every circumstance suggested by his superior knowledge in the theory and practice of navigation; and after comparing attentively the observations of modern pilots, with the hints and conjectures of ancient authors, he at last concluded, that by sailing directly towards the west, across the Atlantic Ocean, new countries, which probably formed a part of the vast continent of India, must infallibly be discovered.

The spherical figure of the earth was already known, and its magnitude ascertained with some degree of accuracy. From this it was evident that the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, formed but a small part of the terraqueous globe. It was suitable to the ideas entertained of the wisdom and benevolence of the Author of Nature, to believe that the vast space, still unexplored, was not covered with an unprofitable ocean; and it appeared probable that the continent on this side the globe was balanced by a proportional quantity of land in
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the other hemisphere. Canes, and timber, and trees, had been driven by westerly winds on the coasts of the Azores; and the dead bodies of two men, whose singular features resembled neither the inhabitants of Europe, nor of Africa, were cast on shore there.

These observations were combined by Columbus, and convinced him that other countries existed in the western ocean, which were probably connected with the continent of India. With his sanguine and enterprising temper, speculation led directly to action; and he was impatient to bring the truth of his system to the test of experiment. Long absence had not extinguished the affection which he had imbibed to his native country, and he wished that it should reap the fruits of his labour and invention; but from his residence in foreign parts the Genoese were unacquainted with his abilities and character; they rejected his proposal as the dream of a chimerical projector; and lost for ever the opportunity of restoring their commonwealth to its ancient splendour.

The king of Portugal, in whose dominions he had long been established, had the next claim to his services. Here his talents were known and esteemed, and the genius of the people accorded with his own. But John unfortunately referred him to a council who had advised the discovery of a passage to India by a different route from that which Columbus recommended. They could not submit to condemn their own theory, and acknowledge his superior sagacity; while they deferred passing judgment, they advised John to dispatch secretly a vessel to pursue the course Columbus had pointed out; but the ungenerous attempt was attended by the disappointment it deserved; contrary winds arose; no symptom of approaching land appeared; the courage of the pilot failed; and he returned to
Lisbon,

Lisbon, execrating the project as equally extravagant and dangerous.

Columbus quitted with indignation a court capable of such mean treachery; and while he commissioned his brother Bartholomew to sound the inclinations of the king of England, he himself repaired to Spain. He found Ferdinand and Isabella engaged in the war with Granada; the former, wary and suspicious, was not disposed to bold or uncommon designs; the latter, though sanguine and enterprising, was chiefly influenced by her husband; and though the character of Columbus secured him respect, though his grave and courteous deportment, his exemplary attention to all the duties and functions of religion, conciliated the regard of the Spaniards, his proposals were received with coldness; his project was treated as chimerical, and the advantages which he reserved for himself were considered as exorbitant.

Fatigued by incessant objections, Columbus had already quitted Santa Fé to join his brother in England, when his journey was arrested by a messenger from Isabella. Granada had surrendered; the moment of triumph is ever propitious to new enterprises; and while the mind of the queen was elated by prosperity, it was recalled to the plan of Columbus, by Alonso de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances in Castille, and Lewis de Santangal receiver of the ecclesiastical revenue of Arragon; these ministers had early declared themselves the patrons of Columbus; they painted in glowing colours the honour that would accrue, after re-establishing the Christian faith in those provinces of Spain from which it had long been banished, from discovering and communicating it to a new world; they represented that if she did not decide instantly, the opportunity would be irretrievably lost; that Columbus was on his way to foreign countries, where
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some prince more fortunate or adventurous would close with his proposals, and Spain would for ever bewail the fatal timidity which had excluded her from the glory and advantages that she had once in her power to have enjoyed.

The doubts and fears of Isabella were vanquished by the arguments of Quintanilla and Santangal ; an invitation was dispatched to Columbus to return, and was received with that exultation which an ardent mind must feel on being permitted to attempt a favourite enterprise. Yet Ferdinand still remained unmoved ; as king of Arragon he refused to take any part in the expedition ; one eighth part was defrayed by Columbus himself ; the rest was supplied by Isabella as queen of Castille, who reserved for her subjects an exclusive right to all the benefits which might arise ; yet the whole of the expence exceeded not four thousand pounds ; and about eight months after Granada was recovered by the Christians, Columbus with three small vessels, and less than an hundred mariners, sailed from the port of Palos in Andalusia, to traverse the Atlantic Ocean, and explore a new world in the western hemisphere.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER X.

State of Spain—Domestic Policy of Ferdinand—He augments the Power of the Crown—Invasion of Italy by the French—Ferdinand secretly forms a League against Charles the Eighth—His Success in Naples—He acquires Melilla on the Coast of Africa—Receives the Title of Catholic from the Pope—Unhappy in domestic Life—Plans and executes the Division of Naples with Louis the Twelfth—Persecutes the Moors—Discoveries of Columbus—Injurious Treatment of him by Ferdinand—Treachery and Victories of Gonsalvo, surnamed the Great Captain—The French are by him expelled from Naples—Perfidy of Ferdinand—War between him and Louis—Death of Isabella—Last Voyage and Death of Columbus—Pretensions of Philip, Son-in-Law to Ferdinand, to the Regency of Castille—He is supported by the Castilian Nobles—Ferdinand resigns the Administration of Castille, and retires into Arragon—Injudicious Conduct of Philip—His Death—Incapacity of Joanna—Ferdinand asserts again his Pretensions to the Regency—Is supported by Ximenes—Character of that Minister—Ferdinand is acknowledged Regent—He accedes to the League of Cambray—Conquest of Oran by Ximenes—Success of the League of Cambray—Holy League—Battle of Ravenna—Conquest of Navarre—Ferdinand jealous of his Grand Children—Source of his Indisposition—Penetrates the Intentions of Francis the First—His martial Preparations—His last Illness—His Death and Character—Review of his Reign.

A FAINT dawn of hope might be excited in the mind of Ferdinand by the expedition of Columbus; but, from the splendid prospect of new and golden regions, his attention was soon recalled to the domestic cares of government; and to extend the regal authority, and diminish the influence of his nobles, were the immediate objects of his policy.

A. D. 1492.
1516.

Above all the Barons of Europe, those of Spain were distinguished for independence of spirit and haughtiness of deportment: they had opposed with vigour and vigilance every measure of their kings which invaded their dignity, or tended to abridge their power. Even in their ordinary intercourse with their monarchs they preserved such a consciousness of their rank, that the nobles of the first order claimed it as a privilege to be covered in the royal presence; and approached their sovereigns rather as equals than as subjects. But Ferdinand had derived no inconsiderable accession of strength by uniting the grand masterships of St. James, Castaraya, and Alacantara, with the crown; his reputation had been established by the success of the Moorish war; and his plans were supported by a more ample revenue, and conducted with superior sagacity to those of his predecessors. The regulations that he ventured to introduce were gradual, and disguised beneath the plausible pretence of the public welfare: he might sometimes employ force, but it was more frequently in consequence of decrees obtained in the courts of law, that he wrested from his grantees a great part of the lands which had been granted them by the inconsiderate bounty of former monarchs, particularly during the feeble and profuse reign of his immediate predecessor Henry

the Fourth. Each resumption was the source of some new intrigue, and each intrigue was punished by confiscation; illustrious Birth was no longer a claim to the conduct of public affairs; and the nobles, who had so long engrossed every public trust, beheld themselves by degrees excluded from the councils and confidence of their sovereign. The latter often transacted business of the greatest consequence without consulting them: he placed in stations of the highest importance new men, solely attached to his interest: he introduced into his court a degree of state and dignity, before unknown: he taught his nobles to approach their sovereign with more ceremony: and by slow steps erected himself into the object of their respect and deference.

The regulations Ferdinand had established in his own kingdom enabled him to act with greater energy against his neighbours; Louis the Eleventh was no more, and the sceptre of France had devolved on his son Charles the Eighth. That monarch, by his marriage with Anne, the daughter and heiress of the Duke of Brittany, had acquired an important addition to his dominions; young and ardent, he was ambitious of the fame of a conqueror; and Italy was the destined theatre of his martial enterprises; he had cherished the claim of the house of Anjou to Naples, and he was invited to assert it in arms, by Ludovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, who meditated the deposition of his nephew Galeazzo, and the usurpation of the duchy of Milan. So daring a crime, he was conscious, must excite against him a combination of the Italian powers, who would arm in support of the injured prince: to secure himself a protector amidst the general odium, he negotiated with the King of France; the integrity of Charles was not proof against the rich temptation; he languished for trans-alpine conquests;

quests; and he was allured by the hopes of the kingdom of Naples to sanction the treason and support the traitor he must have abhorred.

To secure the neutrality of the other powers of Europe was the first object of the French councils: Maximilian King of the Romans, who had been the rival of Charles for the hand of Anne of Brittany, was gratified by the cession of part of Artois: Henry the Seventh, who, after a long series of unnatural murders and bloody revolutions, had seated himself on the throne of England, and by his marriage united the houses of York and Lancaster, was the slave of avarice; and the sum of seven hundred and forty five thousand crowns purchased his acquiescence.—The demands of Ferdinand were not so easily satisfied; the injustice with which Roussillon and Cerdagne had been detained by France were deeply impressed on his mind; and he was intent on improving the first favourable opportunity to recover them; but cautious and crafty, he preferred the arts of negotiation to arms; he intrigued with Henry and Maximilian; alarmed the court of France by his hostile preparations; and, without drawing his sword, obtained what he could scarce have expected from a bloody and expensive war; Roussillon and Cerdagne were restored; and Ferdinand entered Perpignan in triumph.

These important concessions had been made by Charles with a view of new acquisitions, and the hope of distant but splendid conquests. Fond of pleasure, but easily inflamed with the love of glory, he alternately sacrificed to both. He quitted the delights of Paris to display his valour in the field; and accompanied by the chivalry of France, and at the head of twenty thousand soldiers who participated the ardour of their royal leader, he traversed the Alps and Apennines; snatched a short repose at Turin; and at Vigavano conferred with

Ludovico Sforza, who had usurped the duchy of Milan; and who relieved the distress, and confirmed his alliance with the French, by the opportune supply of a considerable sum of money.

Regardless of the rigour of the season, Charles pursued, through the depth of the winter, his rapid and victorious course from the banks of the Tessin towards Naples. The Italians, long undisturbed by any foreign invasion, presumed not to oppose his progress. The valour of the French appeared irresistible, and the sole obstacles they encountered were those of nature. The Florentines, who still aspired to freedom, on the approach of Charles, expelled Pietro de Medicis, and received the King of France in triumph. Clad in complete armour, mounted on horseback, his lance couched, and his vizor lowered, he entered Florence as a conqueror. Pisa and Sienna hailed him as their deliverer. His most implacable adversary Pope Alexander the Sixth listened to the tidings of his success with terror; he hastily retired to the Castle of St. Angelo, and commanded the gates of the city to be thrown open to the victor; but Charles rejected the counsels of his courtiers, who advised him to depose the turbulent Alexander, and fill the Apostolic chair with a more holy successor; and, after extorting from the Roman pontiff a solemn investiture of Naples, and his natural son Cæsar Borgia as an hostage for his sincerity, the King of France continued his triumphant march.

The very news of his preparations had diffused consternation throughout Naples; and, if we may credit the historians of the age, the panic was immediately fatal to the life of Ferdinand: he was succeeded by his son Alfonso, who in former difficulties, had merited the character of an active and warlike, though tyrannic, prince; he now for ever stained his reputation by the most base and unmanly

unmanly desertion of the duties of a sovereign. While the French were yet at the distance of sixty leagues, he resigned his sceptre to his son Ferdinand the Second, and embarked for Messina, where he soon after ended his days in a convent. With greater constancy than his father, Ferdinand braved the dangers which impended over him; he boldly opposed himself to the torrent, was defeated in battle, and compelled to fly for safety to the neighbouring Isle of Ischia. Naples instantly submitted to the victor; and, of the whole kingdom, Brindisi, Reggio, and Gallipoli, alone withstood his arms.

The splendid and rapid progress of Charles had awakened the jealousy of the King of Spain: he was sensible that a youthful conqueror, whose presumption was inflamed by the facility with which he had over-run the Italian states, would not long acquiesce under the restitution of Roussillon and Cerdagne; and he was conscious that the latter would be best defended by re-kindling the flames of war in Italy. He easily revived the resentments of Maximilian; he was readily joined by Sforza, who was enraged at an attempt that had been made by the Duke of Orleans on the city of Novara; and Alexander the Sixth, and the republic of Venice acceded with alacrity to a league which professed to maintain the independence of Italy. While Charles wasted the hours at Naples in feasts and tournaments, or fondly meditated the attack of Constantinople, and the subversion of the Ottoman empire, his pleasures and visionary trophies were clouded by the unexpected intelligence of the confederacy that had been formed against him. An hasty retreat was all that remained, and even that seemed intercepted by an Italian army of thirty thousand men, which had been assembled with diligence and silence; with scarce nine thousand veterans the
King

King of France traversed the Alps, while the allies declined engaging in those mountains, and awaited him in an open plain, near the village of Fornova, at a small distance from Placentia. The courage of the French inflamed by the presence and example of their prince, burst through every obstacle; Charles was the first who charged the enemy; in the action he was exposed to imminent danger, and extricated himself by his personal valour, and the goodness of his horse. The Italians fled before the ardour of the youthful monarch, whose inferior numbers allowed him not to improve his victory, and who was content to reach in security his own dominions.

On the retreat of Charles, the fugitive Ferdinand abandoned the rock of Ischia, and unfurled again his standard in Naples; he was supported by the troops of Spain commanded by Gonsalvo de Cordova, whose skill in war justly entitled him to the surname of the Great Captain; yet his first enterprise in Italy was far from auspicious of his future glory; and, in an attempt to relieve Seminera, he was encountered and defeated by a detachment of the French under the Constable d'Aubigue; the valour of the victors was only productive of empty laurels; the army of Gonsalvo was joined by fresh reinforcements from Spain; he resumed his ascendancy in Calabria, while Ferdinand was admitted into his former capital of Naples, and pressed the citadel, which was defended by a French garrison under the Duke de Montpensier; the resistance of the latter was gallant, but ineffectual; famine obliged him to capitulate; Capua, Aversa, and Otranto, followed the example of Naples, and returned to their allegiance; yet Ferdinand was not permitted to behold the complete recovery of his dominions; disease arrested the career of his prosperity; he expired after a short illness; and was succeeded

succeeded by his uncle Frederic, who, in a tide of uninterrupted success, swept away the remaining garrisons of France which had escaped the arms of his predecessor.

The same success that attended the banners of Spain in Calabria, accompanied them not every where. An attempt to penetrate on the side of Roussillon into France was repulsed, and the Spaniards were compelled to retreat with disgrace; but, though the junction of sixteen thousand Swiss had enabled Charles to dictate the terms of peace to Sforza, he found himself unequal to the immediate renewal of the war in Italy; the exhausted strength of his subjects demanded some repose; his own ardour yielded to their weakness; he consented to propose a truce, which was readily accepted by Ferdinand, but was limited to a year, and that was assiduously employed in preparations to refresh his Italian laurels.

During the suspension of hostilities with France, Ferdinand did not suffer his subjects to indulge in indolence; he was well aware that the haughty spirits of the Nobles required action, and that the duties of a camp were more likely to accustom them to prompt obedience: the Moors had been expelled from Spain, but from the opposite coast of Africa the ensigns of Mahomet seemed to insult the forbearance of the Christians: after a long war between the Kings of Fez and Tremeczen for the city of Melilla, they had mutually agreed to withdraw the inhabitants, and to leave it the desolate boundary of their respective territories. The moment of enterprise did not escape the vigilance of Ferdinand; five thousand select troops were silently embarked under the conduct of the Duke de Medina Sidonia; they landed unobserved on the African shore; entered Melilla, and soon secured it by
their

their skill and labour against the desultory attacks of the infidels.

It was at this juncture when the sagacity of Ferdinand had rapidly advanced the glory of Spain, that the Roman pontiff was desirous of testifying his regard to a prince, who had asserted the independence of Italy, and delivered the Roman see from the controul of France. The title of *Christian* Majesty had been prostituted to the crafty and sanguinary Louis the Eleventh by the predecessors of Alexander the Sixth; and the latter might with greater justice impart the distinction of *Catholic* to a Monarch under whose reign the disciples of Mahomet had been expelled from Spain: Ferdinand accepted the sacred mark of pontifical approbation, and transmitted it to his successors; yet it is probable that his measures were but little influenced by religion; and the persecution of the Jews affords the single instance in which the wary politician seems to have betrayed the principles of a narrow bigot.

But the domestic felicity of Ferdinand and Isabella kept not pace with the public prosperity: their eldest daughter, of the same name with her mother, after being married to the heir of the crown of Portugal, returned soon a widow to her father's court: she was reluctantly prevailed upon to plight her faith at the altar a second time, and with the hand of Emanuel, the kinsman of her late consort, she received the crown of Portugal. But the mirth of the nuptial feast was interrupted by the melancholy tidings of the premature death of the Prince of Asturias, the only son of the King and Queen of Spain, and whose opening virtues afforded the fairest prospect of future happiness to his country: the tears of his parents were scarcely suspended, when they were called forth again by the untimely fate of the Queen of Portugal, who expired in childbirth

birth at Toledo: she left a feeble infant, of the name of Michael, born only to swell the long list of domestic calamities, and whose decease a few months after devolved the succession to the crowns of Castille and Arragon on his aunt Joanna, who had lately espoused the Archduke Philip, son to Maximilian the Emperor of Germany.

It was to the peculiar vengeance of heaven that the superstition of the age ascribed the deaths which had involved in continual mourning the house of Ferdinand; nor were a credulous people long fruitlessly employed in tracing in the counsels of that monarch the guilt which had exposed him to the divine indignation: Charles the Eighth, while he yet meditated a second irruption into Italy, had expired at Amboise; and Louis the Twelfth, who with his crown inherited in part his designs, had entered the Milanese, and stripped the treacherous Sforza of his dominions. The rapid success with which he had terminated one expedition inflamed him with the desire of embarking in another; the opulence and weakness of the kingdom of Naples tempted his ambition; he negotiated a secret league with Ferdinand; and the division of Naples was the object of their confederacy. The Roman pontiff fortified by his name the unjust enterprise; but his holy sanction could not reconcile it to the multitude: the generous Spaniards execrated the baseness of their sovereign, and beheld the hand of heaven in the untimely destruction of his race; yet the event of the war seemed to justify the measures of Ferdinand, and the consummate skill and address of the Great Captain soon reduced the provinces of Apulia and Calabria which had been allotted to Spain. Tarento alone presumed to oppose his victorious career: confiding in the strength of their walls the inhabitants were still farther animated by the presence of the eldest son of their sovereign, who

who had fixed his last retreat amongst them ; but the count of Potenza, and Lionardo, a knight of Rhodes, to whose care the royal youth was entrusted, despairing of succour, consented to surrender Tarento if they were not relieved within four months : they demanded an oath, however, that the prince should be left at perfect liberty ; and Gonzalvo, whose military fame is stained by the basest treachery and perfidy, readily complied ; he swore on a consecrated host, and was admitted into Tarento ; but he openly violated the sacred obligation, and hesitated not to detain the prince as his prisoner ; as such he was conveyed to Spain, and, though treated with lenity, was for fifty years the captive of that court, till death extinguished in him the Arragonesé line of Neapolitan Kings.

Frederic himself, equally pusillanimous, or more unfortunate than his predecessors, had, on the first sound of the trumpet, renounced the garb of royalty, and sought a transient shelter on the rock of Ischia, which had so often proved the asylum of his race ; it was there he received the ungrateful intelligence of the submission of Tarento, and the captivity of his son. Abandoned by his own subjects, and betrayed by the King of Spain, on whom he had relied, he preferred an open and generous enemy to a perfidious ally. He demanded a safe conduct into France, and threw himself on the well-known lenity of Louis : from the liberality of that monarch he obtained an honourable retreat in the duchy of Anjou, with an annual stipend of thirty thousand crowns, which was continued to him by Louis long after the French were dispossessed of their Neapolitan conquests.

It was not alone his new acquisitions beyond the Mediterranean that exercised the vigilance of Ferdinand ; Spain herself required his unremitting attention ; the wealth of the Moors was incapable of satisfying

satisfying the avarice of their governors, and despair induced the former to erect the standard of revolt in the mountains of Alpuxarros; in the name of Mahomet they invoked the assistance of their African brethren; but, while their eyes were anxiously fixed on the coast of Barbary, they were surprised by the appearance of Ferdinand, whose toilsome march had been silently conducted through a country deemed impracticable, and who suddenly stood in arms before his rebellious subjects. The former was desirous of avoiding the effusion of blood, the latter were incapable of effectual resistance; the caution of the first, and the weakness of the last, were equally favourable to negotiation; the Moors, who were averse to the Christian government, were permitted to retire into Africa on the payment of ten pistoles for each family; and the sum of sixty thousand pistoles, which Ferdinand received in consequence of this compromise, is a sufficient testimony of the numbers who quitted Spain, to fertilize by their industry the sandy plains of Fez and Morocco.

Inconsiderable as this sum might appear in modern times, in the commencement of the sixteenth century it was an object to the wealthiest sovereign of Europe, and was deemed a seasonable supply to the coffers of Spain. The voyage of Columbus had indeed been attended with success, and a new world had been discovered across the Atlantic Ocean, where the natives had either tamely submitted to the yoke, or had been crushed by the skill and daring valour of the invaders; but the rich regions of Peru and Mexico were still unknown; though the fertile soil of the Islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Jamaica, invited to agriculture, the gold that could be collected from the inhabitants was not sufficient to defray the expences of the adventure; the inactivity of the Spaniards was increased

creased by the effect of the sultry climate; their sanguine hopes had suggested to them that the country they had discovered was that of Ophir, from whence Solomon had imported those precious commodities which suddenly diffused such extraordinary riches throughout his kingdom; but when, instead of the golden harvest which they had expected to reap without toil or pains, they found their prospect of wealth was remote as well as uncertain, and that it could not be attained but by the slow and persevering efforts of industry, the disappointment they had encountered produced general discontent; it was communicated from the new colonies to Spain; it was asserted that the fatal enterprises of Columbus would drain the kingdom of its wealth, and prove the grave of its people; and Ferdinand himself was disposed to listen not only with a willing but with a partial ear, to these insinuations.

Notwithstanding the flattering accounts which Columbus had given of the riches of America, the remittances from it had hitherto been so scanty as not to reimburse the charges of the armaments. The glory of the discovery, with the prospect of remote commercial advantages, were all that Spain had yet received in return for the efforts that she had made. But time had already diminished the first sensations of joy, which the discovery of a new world occasioned, and fame alone was not an object to satisfy the cold-interested mind of Ferdinand; the nature of commerce was so little understood, that where immediate gain was not acquired, the hope of distant benefit was totally disregarded. The King of Spain considered the country on this account as having lost by the enterprize, and imputed to the misconduct or incapacity of Columbus that regions which were reported to abound in gold, had yielded nothing of value to their conquerors; even Isabella, who had uniformly pro-
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tested Columbus, was shaken by the number and boldness of his accusers;—Francis Bovedilla, a knight of Calatrava, was appointed to repair to Hispaniola with full power to inquire into the conduct of the admiral, and if he should find the charge of mal-administration proved, to supersede him, and assume the government of the Island.

It was impossible to escape condemnation, when it was the interest of the judge to pronounce guilty the person he was appointed to try. Without a hearing Columbus was loaded with chains, and hurried on board a ship; all accusations, the most improbable as well as inconsistent, were received; no informer, however infamous, was rejected, and the result of the inquest, no less indecent than partial, was transmitted to Spain. Yet Ferdinand could not help blushing when he was informed that Columbus was brought home a prisoner and in chains; he perceived what universal astonishment this event must occasion, and what an impression to his disadvantage it must make. All Europe he foresaw would be filled with indignation at this ungenerous requital of a man, who had performed actions worthy of the highest recompense; and would exclaim against the injustice of the nation to which he had been such an eminent benefactor, as well as against the ingratitude of the prince whose reign he had rendered illustrious. His repentance was confirmed by Isabella, who resumed her former favourable sentiments. Anxious to efface the stain which the injury might fix on their characters, they instantly issued orders to set Columbus at liberty, invited him to court, and remitted money to enable him to appear in a manner suitable to his rank. In the presence of his sovereign he concealed not the emotions of injured integrity. In a long discourse he vindicated his own conduct, and displayed the malevolence of his enemies. But, though his

his innocence was acknowledged, his wrongs were not redressed; Bovedilla was removed, but Columbus was not restored; his demand to be reinstated in his office of Viceroy over the countries he had discovered, agreeable to the original treaty, was eluded under various and frivolous pretexts; and, when at an advanced age, worn out with fatigue and broken with infirmities, with the ardour of youth he proposed to attempt a new passage to the East Indies, Ferdinand and Isabella rather engaged in the scheme to deliver their court from a man whose claims their jealousy suffered them not to comply with, but whose services decency allowed them not to neglect. Four small barks were only granted, the largest of which did not exceed seventy tons; and nothing but a spirit accustomed to brave dangers, and to engage in the most perilous undertakings, could have prompted him to enter on so hazardous an enterprise with so inadequate a force.

The parsimony of Ferdinand on this occasion was not solely the result of distrust or his natural disposition; he meditated already great designs which could only be accomplished at a great expence of blood and treasure. His convenient conscience absolved him from every obligation which his interest disapproved; he had perfidiously abandoned the King of Naples to acquire Apulia and Calabria, and he scrupled not to violate his recent engagements with the French to wrest from them their share of the spoil. The partiality of the Spanish historians has imputed the first encroachment to the ambition and levity of France; but the acknowledged integrity of Louis the Twelfth refutes the calumny: and the rapacity of Ferdinand, and the treachery of his celebrated General Gonsalvo justify the suspicion that they were the aggressors. It was not until the latter had turned his arms against their allies, that the French received orders to repel force

force by force ; and their ardour was seconded by the disaffection of the Spanish troops, which had been long left without supplies : the Great Captain was reduced to retire before the Duke of Nemours ; and within the walls of Berletta, an indigent and mutinous army, without ammunition or money, were neither inclined nor incapable of long resisting their enemies ; but, at the moment that the hand of Louis was stretched out to grasp the entire kingdom of Naples, he was persuaded to listen to the language of accommodation, and lost an opportunity which it was never in his power afterwards to regain.

On the death of the Queen of Portugal, the Archduke Philip had, with his consort Joanna, been invited into Spain ; and their succession to the crowns of Castille and Arragon had been acknowledged in an assembly of the states. But ambition only had induced Philip to ascend the bed of Joanna, and no sooner had he secured the object of his marriage than he was impatient to separate from a wife whom he had never loved : the state of affairs in Germany and the Low Countries was the pretence for his return ; but the real motive of it could not be concealed from the jealous eyes of Joanna, or the penetration of the Spaniards. Indifferent to the reproaches of the first, and the murmurs of the last, Philip pursued his journey from Madrid through France, and at Lyons had an interview with Louis the Twelfth. The war which had arisen in Naples was the subject of their conferences ; and, in the name of his father-in-law, the Archduke subscribed a treaty with the King of France. By the conditions of it Charles, the son of Philip, was to receive in marriage Claude, the eldest daughter of Louis ; the two monarchs were bound to a cessation of arms ; the provinces originally ceded to each were confirmed ; and the districts

districts in dispute were to be sequestered into the hands of the Archduke.

The ambassadors of Ferdinand, who had accompanied Philip, swore to the punctual execution of the agreement; the sentence of excommunication was denounced against those who should infringe it; and it was officially announced to the Generals in Naples. The Duke of Nemours, confident of the sincerity of his sovereign, readily professed his acquiescence, and retired with his army from the walls of Berletta; but the crafty Gonsalvo, conscious of the congenial disposition of his royal master, affected to doubt the powers of the Archduke, and before he dismissed his troops, pleaded the propriety of his writing for more express orders.

It was at this moment that the supplies which Ferdinand had silently prepared for the entire reduction of Naples opportunely arrived: a considerable sum of money, which had been extorted from the Moors, satisfied the arrears and restored the obedience of the army. And at the same time that Gonsalvo beheld his own forces swelled by ten thousand Germans, which had been dispatched to his assistance by Maximilian, he was informed that four thousand French were already disbanded on the idea that the peace was concluded, and that the Pope and the Venetians were ready to desert the alliance of Louis. He availed himself of the ascendancy he had acquired; burst from the narrow bounds in which he had been confined; and overspread with his numerous detachments the country. In Calabria a considerable body of the French under the Lord d'Aubigny were routed by Antonio de Leyva; the Duke of Nemours perceived with indignation the effects of his credulity, and endeavoured to efface them by his valour: in the plains of Cerignoles with fatal ardour he encountered his

his perfidious rival ; but neither the justice of his cause, the fidelity of his followers, nor his own daring example could avail him against the superior numbers and skill of the Great Captain : he found a glorious death on the field of battle ; the greatest part of his army perished with him ; and their fate spread terror throughout Naples. The capital opened her gates to the victor ; her influence extended to Capua and Averfa ; the wretched remnant of the French, who, under d'Aubigny, had sought shelter within the walls of Angetole, were in a few days reduced to capitulate, and consented to evacuate the country ; and, of the Neapolitan acquisitions of Louis, the strength of Gaieta alone resisted the tempest.

In Savoy Philip was informed of the perfidy and success of his father-in-law. Jealous of his own honour he instantly returned into France, and put himself into the power of Louis. At the same time he dispatched messengers to Ferdinand to remonstrate on the indelible infamy which must for ever stain his character if he countenanced the treachery of Gonsalvo. But the King of Spain, attentive only to the importance of his new acquisitions, was indifferent to reputation ; with his usual duplicity, he at one moment disowned his ambassadors, and at another his general. He publicly offered to restore the kingdom to the captive Frederic ; he privately sent orders to push the war to the absolute expulsion of the French ; the latter were punctually and rapidly executed by Gonsalvo : the French Garrison of Gaieta asserted their national gallantry, but the contest was unequal ; even the hope of succour was withdrawn ; and after a long struggle their embarkation for France left Spain in the sole possession of Naples.

The magnanimity of Louis was admirably contrasted with the duplicity of Ferdinand; he commanded with indignation the ambassadors of the latter to quit instantly his dominions; but he scorned to avail himself of any other arms than what became him as a monarch. He exempted the Archduke from any suspicion of being concerned in the treachery of his father-in-law; he dismissed him with every mark of respect to pursue his route to Flanders; and at parting addressed him in these memorable words: "If the King of Spain has been guilty of perfidy, I will not imitate him; and I am infinitely happier in the loss of a kingdom, which I know how to re-conquer, than I should have been in having stained my honour, which I could never have retrieved."

If Ferdinand was insensible to the reproaches, he could not be indifferent to the preparations of the prince whom he had injured: the chivalry of France were inflamed with the desire of avenging the wrongs of their sovereign; three armies were assembled to invade on every side the dominions of the King of Spain. The first commanded by Le Tremouille, and composed of eighteen thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, was destined for the recovery of the kingdom of Naples; the second consisted of six thousand Swiss and French, and under the conduct of the Lord d'Albret, and the Marechal de Giè, was directed to penetrate into Fontarabia; the third and most numerous was entrusted to the Marechal Rieux, and was to attack the country of Roussillon; at the same time a considerable fleet was fitted out to insult the coasts of Catalonia and Valencia, and to prevent any communication at sea between Naples and Spain.

The King of Spain had foreseen, and had provided against the storm; yet his fortune was not less conspicuous than his prudence; and it was rather

ther to the misconduct of his adversaries than his own exertions, that he was indebted for his security. The forces of France were received into Gaieta, and advanced towards Naples; but the indisposition of Tremouille proved fatal to the expedition; the Marquis of Mantua, on whom the command devolved, unable to conciliate the affections of his officers, retired and was succeeded by the Marquis of Saluces. The latter was vanquished by the superior genius of the Great Captain; the subsistence of the French was intercepted, their quarters attacked; and diminished by sickness they continued their disorderly retreat to the walls of Gaieta; that town was a second time invested by Gonsalvo; and the besieged, after enduring the calamities of famine for several weeks, signed a capitulation which provided for their personal freedom; but the articles of it were violated by Gonsalvo, who detained in captivity all those who were natives of Naples. The treaty was rejected by Lewis d'Ars, a French officer, who commanded a separate detachment; he refused to listen to the insidious offers of the Great Captain, and, with four thousand veterans, opened a passage with his sword to the frontiers of Milan; but his conduct was more honourable to himself than advantageous to his sovereign; the few towns that had been recovered by France, again submitted to Spain; and if in acquiring a kingdom the treachery of Gonsalvo must be condemned, his skill in preserving it must be applauded.

The army destined for the attack of Fontarabia was distracted by the jealousy of its generals, and, after a variety of injudicious attempts, joined the forces of France in Roussillon and formed the siege of Salses. From Madrid, which already began to erect itself into the capital of Spain, Ferdinand pressed his march towards Salses at the head of a

numerous and obedient army; the French retired at his approach; their fleet also, after alarming the coasts of Valencia and Catalonia, returned to Marseilles; and Louis had the mortification of beholding his formidable armaments baffled in every enterprise; but the exultation of Ferdinand was alloyed by a domestic calamity, the consequences of which for a short time obscured the glory of his political horizon: Isabella, who in her own right held the sceptre of Castille, had been attacked by a dangerous indisposition; the strength of her constitution enabled her to resist the immediate violence of the disease; but the springs of life were poisoned, her lungs had been injured, and the symptoms of a decline were rapidly increased by the affliction of her mind. She still mourned the premature death of the infant, Don Juan, and the queen of Portugal; her daughter Joanna, was a new source of grief: that princess had been so strongly affected by the departure of her consort, the Archduke, that her reason had been impaired by the shock: her union with him in Flanders had but partially restored her intellects; and, in the early fate, or protracted misery of her children, Isabella might justly complain that her prosperity as a queen had been severely chastened by her sorrows as a mother. She expired at Madrid amidst the lamentations of her subjects, who had constantly experienced her justice and humanity, and in her mildness and generosity had often found protection from the inflexible rigour of the unfeeling Ferdinand.

Yet if the Castilians, whose genius had been cherished by her patronage, indulged their tears for the loss of a princess whose virtues they had so frequently felt, their grief was surpassed by that of a stranger. In search of a new passage to India Columbus had braved the tempests of the Atlantic Ocean, and encountered the malice and ingratitude

tude of man. By the jealousy of Ovando, the governor of Hispaniola, his shattered squadron had been denied admittance into an harbour of which he had discovered the existence, and acquired the possession. After a tedious and dangerous voyage he first beheld Guiana, an Island not far distant from the coast of Honduras: thence steering towards the East, he ranged along the continent of America from Cape Gracias a Dios to an harbour which, on account of its beauty and security, he called Porto Bello. After a fruitless search, however, for the imaginary strait, through which he expected to have penetrated into the Indian sea, and a vain attempt to establish a colony on the banks of the river Belem, in the province of Veragua, he was assailed by a succession of disasters; one of his ships perished in a furious hurricane; he was obliged to abandon another; the patience of his crew was exhausted by fatigue and hunger; and, with the two vessels that remained, he bore away for Hispaniola; in a dreadful hurricane they were driven foul of each other, and to prevent them from sinking he was obliged to run them aground on the island of Jamaica. Thus cast ashore at a considerable distance from the only settlement of the Spaniards in America, the measure of his calamities seemed full. Yet a fertile genius, and invincible spirit never abandoned him: amidst the despair of his comrades he discovered the only expedient that remained; he availed himself of the kindness and respect of the natives to convey an account of his situation to Hispaniola; they furnished him with rowers and two canoes, each followed by fire out of the trunks of a single tree; and in these slender vessels, Mendez, a Spaniard, and Fieschi, a Genoese, two gallant gentlemen, peculiarly attached to Columbus, ventured on a voyage of above thirty leagues. After surmounting in-

credible fatigues, they reached Hispaniola; but the heart of Ovando, from a mean jealousy of Columbus, was hardened against every tender sentiment; and Mendez and Fieschi consumed eight months in soliciting relief for their commander and associates without any prospect of obtaining it.

During this period the bosom of Columbus was not only agitated by the various passions of hope and despair, but his safety was menaced by the impatient dispositions of his own followers, and the levity of the natives. A considerable party of the former, despising his remonstrances, seized ten canoes which he had purchased from the Indians, and made off to a distant part of the Island; while the latter murmured at the long residence of the Spaniards in their country, and their consumption of that subsistence which their indolence hardly permitted them to cultivate for themselves: they began to bring in provisions with reluctance, and even threatened to withdraw the supplies they had furnished: such a resolution must have been quickly fatal to the followers of Columbus; but it was happily averted by the genius of their leader; by his skill in astronomy he knew that there would shortly be a total eclipse of the moon: he assembled the Indian chiefs; reproached their presumption in withdrawing their affection and assistance, from the peculiar favourites of him who dwells in heaven; and informed them that the Great Spirit, who made and governs this world, was preparing to punish their crime with exemplary severity; and that very night the moon should withhold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as a sign of the divine wrath. By some the prediction was received with careless indifference, by others with credulous astonishment: but no sooner began the moon gradually to be darkened than all were struck with terror. They in crowds besought Columbus to intercede

tercede for mercy; he affected to comply with their entreaties; the eclipse passed over; the moon recovered its splendour; the ascendancy of the Spaniards was established; and from that day they were regarded by the natives as the objects of superstitious reverence.

The ignorant offspring of America might be awed by the superior knowledge of Columbus, but the turbulent sons of Europe could only be subdued by force. After repeated, but ineffectual, attempts to pass over into Hispaniola, the revolted Spaniards exasperated at their disappointments, marched with arms in their hands, and rage in their looks, to the part of the Island that was occupied by Columbus. His endeavours to reclaim them served only to increase their fury: their intentions became each day more violent and bloody; and the common safety rendered it necessary to meet them in the field. The gout confined Columbus from the unnatural conflict; and he trusted to the justice of his cause, and to the skill and courage of his brother, the Adalantado. The mutineers rushed on to the attack; but in the first shock several of their most daring leaders were slain. The Adalantado, whose strength was equal to his valour, closed with their Captain, wounded, and took him prisoner: the rest threw down their weapons, fled with precipitation, and soon after submitted in a body:—Columbus had hardly pronounced their pardon, when the vessels, which the tardy compassion of Ovando had dispatched to their relief, appeared in sight: they embarked with transport, and in a prosperous voyage gained St. Domingo; yet the studied civilities of Ovando could not disguise his mean jealousy of Columbus; the latter was impatient to quit an island where, amidst affected demonstrations of regard, he was treated on every occasion with injustice. With two vessels he parted

ed from St. Domingo for Spain; but he was still exposed to the fury of the elements; and the trials of adversity: after sailing in a shattered bark, and under jury masts, above seven hundred leagues, he reached with difficulty the port of St. Lucar; he received there the fatal intelligence of the death of his patroness, Isabella, on whose justice, humanity, and favour, his last hopes were reposed.

His cup of affliction was now full: none remained to redress his wrongs or recompense his services; and the wretched remnant of his life was destined to be consumed in soliciting a prince who had long opposed, and frequently injured him. The interested character of Ferdinand justifies the suspicion that, while he eluded by ambiguous promises the claims of Columbus, he cherished the unworthy hope that death would soon deliver him from an importunate suitor whose merit he could not deny, though he had not the generosity to reward. Nor was he deceived in his base expectations; ingratitude combined with the hardships he had endured to exhaust the waning strength of Columbus; and at Valladolid, on the twentieth of May, one thousand five hundred and six, that celebrated navigator expired in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He died with a composure of mind suitable to the magnanimity which distinguished his character, and with sentiments of piety becoming that supreme respect for religion, which he manifested in every occurrence of his life.

It was not only the merit of Columbus that excited the jealousy of Ferdinand; tremblingly alive to suspicion, he regarded, with a jaundiced eye, genius of every description. The martial exploits of the Great Captain were not unworthy of the name he bore: the kingdom of Naples was the rich fruit of his victories. But the ambiguous negotiations that, in the prosecution of the enterprise he had

had engaged in with the Emperor Maximilian, alarmed the wakeful spirit of his sovereign : in the pursuit of his interest, he was conscious that Gonfhalvo respected not the most sacred obligations ; and he dreaded that perfidy from which he had himself reaped the most signal advantages : the mandate was issued for his recall from Naples ; and his disobedience might have shaken the Italian possessions of Ferdinand ; but the ambition of Gonfhalvo was either too moderate or his loyalty too great to suffer him to draw his sword against his king : he obeyed with alacrity ; and the undaunted countenance with which he entered the royal palace, and presented himself to his master, ought to have effaced every doubt of his fidelity.

But the storm, which Ferdinand had dreaded from the superior talents and influence of Gonfhalvo, soon burst upon him from another quarter. A few weeks before her death, Isabella had made her will, and sensible of the incapacity of Joanna, and disgusted by the reserve of Philip, she had appointed Ferdinand regent of the affairs of Castille until Charles, the son of Philip and Joanna, should attain the age of twenty. She had previously, however, obliged Ferdinand to swear, that he would not, by a second marriage, or by any other means, endeavour to deprive Joanna, or her posterity of their right of succession to any of his kingdoms. In consequence of this testament, though on the death of Isabella, Joanna and Philip had been proclaimed sovereigns of Castille, the reins of administration had been assumed by Ferdinand, and his claim to the regency had been formally acknowledged by the Cortes. Yet some symptoms of disgust had immediately appeared, and the Castilian pride could not submit, without a murmur, to the government of a King of Arragon. The disposition of Ferdinand, jealous, severe, and parsimonious, was ill adapted

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to the people he aspired to rule over : a formidable party was secretly cemented against him ; and since the infirmities of Joanna and the youth of Charles rendered them incapable of exercising the regal power, the eyes of the faction were turned on Philip, who as a husband might be deemed the proper guardian of his wife, and as a father the natural tutor of his son.

In the Netherlands Philip had received the account of Isabella's death, and testamentary disposition. His own temper suffered him not tamely to be supplanted by the ambition of his father-in-law, on the pretext of a will which he neither admitted to be just, nor genuine. His resentment was inflamed by the representations of Don John Manuel, who had been the Ambassador of Ferdinand at the imperial court, but who, on Isabella's death, had repaired to Brussels to court the favour of a new and more liberal master : by his counsels Ferdinand was formally required to retire into Arragon, and to deliver the government of Castille to those persons whom Philip should appoint ; at the same time a treaty was concluded with Louis the Twelfth, by which the Archduke flattered himself he had secured the alliance and friendship of that monarch.

To retain his power Ferdinand neglected not to employ every art which a genius naturally crafty, and long versed in the practices of courts, suggested. He proposed to the states at Toro a new code of laws, which even extorted the approbation of the adverse faction ; he assumed a more affable demeanour towards his nobles : and by the means of Conchillos, an Arragonian gentleman, he entered into a private negotiation with Joanna, and prevailed on that weak princess to confirm by her authority his right to the regency ; but the intrigue

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was discovered by Don Manuel ; Joanna's letter was intercepted ; and Conchillos thrown into a dungeon by the exasperated Philip.

Even the cautious spirit of Ferdinand was not proof against this last mortification ; his nobles had deserted his court to ingratiate themselves with Philip, or to assemble their vassals in the distant provinces for the civil war they expected ; and he beheld with indignation his projects baffled by a rival whose youth and capacity he had despised. He yielded to his passion ; and, sooner than renounce the regency of Castille, he resolved to deprive his daughter and her posterity of the crown. He demanded in marriage Joanna, the supposed daughter of Henry the Impotent, on the belief of whose illegitimacy Isabella's succession to the throne had been founded ; and against whose claim he himself had formerly led armies, and fought battles. But the King of Portugal, in whose dominions Joanna resided, opposed the unnatural alliance ; and the princess herself avowed her aversion to an union which was to transport her from the tranquillity of a convent to encounter the storms of civil dissensions.

It was with greater success Ferdinand endeavoured to detach the king of France from the interests of Philip ; he solicited by his Ambassador the hand of Germane de Foix, the niece of that monarch ; Louis was not insensible to the vanity of placing a near relation, whom he tenderly loved, on the throne of Spain ; and Germane, though scarcely eighteen, consented to share the crown and bed of a prince, who had already entered into his fifty-fourth year.

Deserted by an ally, on whom he had principally depended, the Archduke condescended to lay aside the haughty tone he had assumed, and to adopt more moderate, though not less effectual measures. He
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instructed his ambassadors to testify the strong desire which their master had of terminating all differences with Ferdinand in an amicable manner; and the latter, while he depended on his address in negotiation, became the dupe of those artifices which he had so frequently and successfully practised himself. He concluded a treaty at Salamanca, in which it was stipulated that the government of Castille should be carried on in the joint names of Joanna, of Ferdinand, and of Philip; and that the revenues and patronage of the crown should be equally divided between the two last.

It was far from the intention of Philip to observe the treaty that he had subscribed: his sole view was to divert Ferdinand from openly opposing his voyage to Spain; the former perceived too late the snare into which he had been allured; and though he prevailed on the King of France, not only to remonstrate against the journey of the Archduke, but to threaten the invasion of his dominions, Philip, with the inflexibility peculiar to him, persevered in his resolution; accompanied by Joanna, in the depth of winter, he sailed from Middleburgh, with a considerable body of land forces, and a numerous fleet; but the season of the year was unfavourable to the enterprise; in the midst of the channel he was assailed by a violent tempest; and was obliged to seek shelter in the harbour of Weymouth.

The English sceptre was still swayed by Henry the Seventh, who, in the intriguing and crafty character of Ferdinand, respected his own; and who had ever cultivated a close and steady friendship with the King of Arragon. Though he received and entertained his guest at Windsor with a respect and magnificence due to his rank, yet he contrived, in compliance with the wishes of Ferdinand, to detain him near three months; nor did he

he suffer him to depart until he had delivered up to him Edmond de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, whose restless spirit and alliance with the house of York rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to Henry, and who, from the resentment of his Sovereign, had sought refuge in the Low Countries. Yet it was with some degree of hesitation that Philip complied with the injurious request. "The measure," said he, addressing himself to Henry, "will reflect dishonour upon you as well as myself; you will be thought to have treated me as a prisoner." This argument was not felt by a prince accustomed only to regard his interest; "I take the dishonour on myself; your reputation is therefore safe:" was the reply of Henry. The Archduke was obliged to comply; but he first exacted Henry's promise that he would spare Suffolk's life. That nobleman was invited over to England, in the hope that the king would grant him a pardon, on the intercession of his friend and ally. On his arrival, he was immediately committed to the tower, and Philip, having gratified the resentment of Henry, and as King of Castille, having concluded with him a treaty of commerce, advantageous to England, was at length permitted to pursue his voyage.

During the interval that his son-in-law had been detained in England Ferdinand had been assiduous in his endeavours to fortify his influence in Castille; but he had the mortification of beholding his advances rejected with disdain by a people who had openly murmured against his severe economy, and who were weary of a long and austere reign. He was obliged to renounce the design he had entertained of opposing the landing of Philip in arms; and no sooner had the latter disembarked at Corunna, in Galicia, than the Castilian nobles eagerly declared in his favour. From every corner of the kingdom, persons of the highest rank, with numerous

merous retinues of their vassals, repaired to their new sovereign; the treaty of Salamanca was universally condemned; and all agreed to exclude from the government of Castille, a prince, who, by his attempt to separate Arragon and Naples from that Crown, had discovered so little concern for its true interests. Incapable of resisting the torrent of revolt, Ferdinand consented by treaty to resign the regency, to retire into his hereditary dominions of Arragon, and to rest satisfied with the grand masterships of the three principal military orders, and one half of the revenue arising from the Indies, which the will of Isabella had assigned him. Decency, however, required an interview; and Philip advanced to the place appointed, at the head of six thousand veterans, and a splendid retinue of Castilian nobles; while Ferdinand was only attended by about two hundred of his domestics, mounted on mules and unarmed, and accompanied by the Duke of Alva, the Marquis of Denia, and Ximenes Archbishop of Toledo, who alone had remained faithful to him amidst the general defection. The behaviour of Philip was reserved and stately; that of Ferdinand cheerful and affable; and beneath the affectation of gaiety, he endeavoured to disguise his regret for the loss of a Crown that he had so long worn.

Yet the mortification that he laboured to conceal in public he indulged in private; he had been overreached in conduct, and stripped of power; his vanity and ambition were equally wounded, and before he retired into Arragon, in hopes that some favourable event would open to him the road to the throne he had quitted, he protested, though with great secrecy, against the treaty that he had concluded with his son-in-law, as being extorted by force, and consequently void of all obligation.

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In asserting his pretensions to the crown of Castille, Philip had displayed no inconsiderable degree of ability ; but in the possession of it his capacity was not found equal to the favourable opinion that had been entertained of him. He abandoned himself to the dominion of his Flemish favourites ; and the pride of the Castilian nobles was wounded by his preference to a succession of strangers, with whose language they were unacquainted, and with whose manners they were disgusted. The unhappy Joanna, from whom he had derived his authority, had remained during the struggle for power oppressed by a deep melancholy ; she was seldom allowed to appear in public ; her father, though he had often desired it, was refused access to her ; and Philip's chief object was to prevail on the Cortes to declare her incapable of government, that the reins of administration might be entirely confided to his hands, until his son should attain to full age ; but though Manuel, who, of the Spanish ministers, alone maintained his empire over the mind of his master, had the address to gain some members of the Cortes assembled at Valladolid, and others were willing to gratify their new sovereign in his first request, yet such was the partial attachment of the Castilians to their native princess, that the great body of the representatives refused their consent to a declaration which they thought so injurious to the blood of their monarchs ; and Joanna and Philip were jointly proclaimed Queen and King of Castille, and their son Charles Prince of Asturias.

The disappointment served still more to estrange the countenance of Philip from his new subjects.— He openly permitted his Flemish courtiers to enrich themselves by the sale of the most important offices of Castille ; and while he lived in the utmost familiarity with the latter, he preserved an
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haughty reserve towards the grandees of Spain ; but in less than three months after he had obtained the regal dignity, that he had pursued with so much ardour, his passions, which menaced the happiness of his people, proved fatal to himself. At table he indulged his appetites to excess ; and to quicken the powers of digestion, had recourse to violent exercise ; while hot, he imprudently drank a quantity of sherbet, that had been cooled with ice ; a fever instantly ensued ; and fortunately for his subjects, after an illness of six days, he expired in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

On his demise, the royal authority in Castille ought to have devolved on Joanna ; but the shock occasioned by a disaster so unexpected as the death of her husband, completed the disorder of her understanding, and her incapacity for government. Though in the sixth month of her pregnancy, no remonstrances could prevail on her, during the time of Philip's sickness, to leave him for a moment ; when he was no more, she continued to watch the dead body with the same tenderness and affection as if it had been alive. Though at last she permitted it to be buried, she soon removed it from the tomb to her own apartment, and kept her eyes steadily fixed upon it, as impatient of the moment when it should breathe again. Even jealousy was mingled with her care ; she did not permit any of her female attendants to approach the corpse ; she suffered not the presence of any woman who did not belong to her family ; and rather than grant that privilege to a midwife, though a very aged one had been chosen on purpose, she bore the Princess Catherine, without any other assistance than that of her own domestics ; it was in vain that her ministers, with the Archbishop of Toledo, endeavoured to recall her from her frantic grief to the administration of Castille ; she would
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have deemed her attention to public affairs an impious neglect of those duties which she owed to her deceased consort ; the only answer that could be extorted from her, was, that her father would soon come and settle every thing ; yet even of that father, whose return she seemed thus eagerly to desire, she shewed no small degree of jealousy ; even she proceeded so far at one moment, as to forbid the states from inviting him, and by an unaccountable caprice, while she declined assuming the administration herself, she refused to commit it to any other person ; and no remonstrances of her subjects could persuade her to name a regent, or even to sign such papers, as were necessary for the execution of justice and the security of the kingdom.

In this emergency, the eyes of the Castilians were naturally turned on Ferdinand, who claimed the regency, as the administrator of his daughter, and by the testament of Isabella ; yet a considerable party of the nobles, headed by Don John Manuel, who had been most active in expelling the King of Arragon from power, and had most reason to dread his return to it, exhorted the Emperor Maximilian to assert his pretensions, as the guardian of his grandson Charles. Ever fond of new projects, the latter entered into the scheme with his usual ardour, and abandoned it with his wonted levity. Every step that he advanced presented new difficulties ; he was a stranger to the laws and manners of Castille ; he was destitute of troops and money to promote his enterprise ; nor could his claim be admitted, without a public declaration of Joanna's incapacity for government ; an indignity, to which, notwithstanding the notoriety of her distemper, the delicacy of the Castilians could not bear the thought of subjecting her.—Oppressed by these circumstances, the influence of Maximilian daily

declined; a languid and ineffectual negotiation was his only expedient; he stated his right in a variety of manifestoes, promised much, and performed nothing.

The conduct of Maximilian was not inconsistent with his general character; but the measures which Ferdinand pursued at this critical juncture, could not but excite universal astonishment. He had received the account of his son-in-law's death at Porto-fino, in the territories of Genoa, on his way to Naples; but so impatient was he to discover the intrigues which he fancied the Great Captain had carried on in the latter kingdom, that he chose to leave Castille in a state of anarchy, and even to hazard, by this delay, the government of it, than to discontinue his voyage.

The evils which might have arisen from his absence, were happily averted by the zeal and abilities of his adherents. Of these, Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, was justly considered the chief; one of those extraordinary characters that scarce present themselves in an age; his genius burst from the narrow limits of the cloyster, in which he was educated, to guide and controul the cabinet. He was descended from an honourable, though not a wealthy, family; and the circumstances of his parents, as well as his own inclinations, determined him to enter into the church. He easily obtained benefices of great value, which opened to him the road to the highest preferments. All these he renounced at once; and after undergoing a very severe noviciate, assumed the habit of St. Francis in a monastery of Observantine Friars, one of the most rigid orders in the Romish church. There he soon became eminent for his austerity of manners, and for those excesses of superstitious devotion, which are the proper characteristics of the monastic life. Yet amidst these extravagances, his under-

understanding, naturally penetrating and decisive, retained its full vigour, and acquired him such influence in his own order, as raised him to be the provincial of it. His reputation for sanctity soon procured him the office of Father Confessor to Queen Isabella, which he accepted with the utmost reluctance; but in a court he still preserved his former austerity of manners; he continued to make all his journies on foot; he subsisted only upon alms; his acts of mortification were as severe as ever, and his penances as rigorous. Isabella, pleased with her choice, conferred on him, not long after, the Archbishopric of Toledo, which, next to the papacy, is the richest dignity in the church of Rome. He affected to decline this honour with a firmness which nothing but the authoritative injunction of the Vatican could overcome; though the sincerity of his refusal may be questioned, yet the height of his promotion made no change in his manners. Though obliged to display in public that magnificence which became his station, he himself retained his monastic severity: under his pontifical robes, he constantly wore the coarse frock of St. Francis, the rents in which he used to darn with his own hands. He at no time used linen, but was constantly clad in haircloth. He slept always in his habit, most frequently on the ground, or on boards. He did not taste any of the delicacies which appeared at his table, but satisfied himself with that simple diet which the rule of his order prescribed; but he attentively studied that world from which he appeared to estrange himself; and made himself master of the passions of mankind, while he neglected their manners. No sooner was he called by the high opinion which Ferdinand and Isabella entertained of him to take a principal share in the administration, than he displayed talents for business, which rendered the fame of his wisdom equal to

that of his sanctity. His political conduct was remarkable for the boldness and originality of his plans; his extensive genius suggested to him schemes vast and magnificent; conscious of the integrity of his intentions, he pursued these with unremitting assiduity, and undaunted firmness; and in his commerce with the world, discovered that inflexibility of mind peculiar to the monastic profession, and which can hardly be conceived in a country where the latter is unknown.

Ximenes had been raised to the Archbishopric of Toledo by the sole favour of Isabella, and contrary to the inclination of Ferdinand; yet on the death of the former, when Philip aspired to the regency, he had steadily adhered to the declining fortunes of the latter. The King of Arragon had recommended him to his son-in-law as the best and ablest minister that Spain had ever known; but the very recommendation rendered him obnoxious to that prince; and the archbishop beheld, not without indignation, his salutary counsels neglected for the insidious suggestions of Manuel; but when Philip expired, he assumed his former ascendancy; and though, in the name of Maximilian, he might have ruled with absolute authority, and could have no expectation of enjoying much power under Ferdinand, who had hitherto constantly retained it in his own hands, yet his disinterested spirit preferred the welfare of his country to his grandeur, and he openly declared that Castille could never be so happily governed, as by a prince, whom long experience had rendered thoroughly acquainted with its true interest. His zeal to bring over his countrymen to this opinion, induced him to lay aside somewhat of his usual austerity and haughtiness; he condescended on this occasion to court the disaffected nobles, and employed address, as well as arguments, to persuade them; nor was Ferdinand,

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though distant, inattentive to his interests; he seconded with his usual dexterity the intrigues of Ximenes; and by concessions to some of the grandees, by promise to others, and by letters full of complaisance to all, he gained many of his most violent opponents.

As soon as the King of Arragon had satisfied himself of the loyalty of Gonzalvo, and assured himself of the obedience and attachment of Naples, he set out for Madrid. In an interview with his daughter Joanna, he easily prevailed on that unhappy princess, who displayed some transient interval of reason, to sign a deed which authorized him to govern Castille in her name; his authority was recognized by the Cortes; but a numerous party still ventured to oppose it; and it was not until Ferdinand had in arms chastised the turbulence of the City of Cordova, and driven into exile the Marquis de Priego, one of the most considerable of the malecontents, that the tranquillity of his administration was established.

The pretensions of Maximilian, though no longer formidable, still remained to be adjusted: and to the integrity of Louis the Twelfth was referred the honourable office of mediating between the rival princes. He confirmed to Ferdinand the government of Castille until his grandson Charles should attain the mature age of twenty-five; and stipulated for the Emperor the annual payment of fifty thousand ducats, a sum which the indigence of the latter rendered most acceptable; but it was not only the affairs of Castille that occupied the attention of the King of France; Italy was still the theatre on which he languished to erect his martial trophies; he had in person reduced the Genoese, who with their wonted levity, had aspired to shake off his yoke; and he readily listened to the proposal of Julius the second, who in the apostolic chair

chair displayed a disposition better suited to the camp than the conclave; and who ardently seized the first opportunity to be avenged of the firmness with which the Venetians had resisted his encroaching spirit.

During the various contests of the states of Italy, the constitution of Venice had maintained its stability, and the senate had conducted its affairs with prudence and vigour. The territories of the commonwealth were enlarged; and the commerce which it carried on, and the manufactures which it had established, rendered it the most opulent state in Europe. The power of the Venetians became at length an object of terror to their neighbours, and their wealth was viewed with envy by the greatest monarchs, who ill brooked the superior magnificence of those haughty citizens. Julius the Second regarded them with peculiar enmity; and his intrigues first laid the foundation of that formidable league, which, from the place where it was signed, is known by the title of the league of Cambray, and which was composed of the greatest sovereigns of Europe; the promise of an ample subsidy engaged the necessitous Maximilian to concur in the enterprise; Ferdinand was anxious to re-annex to his Neapolitan dominions the towns which the republic possessed on the coast of Calabria; but Louis was only impelled by an imprudent desire to break the haughty spirit of the republic; and to humble the arrogance of her senators, who approached too near the majesty of monarchy, he consented to join in the invasion of the only ally on which he could depend beyond the Alps.

While Ferdinand waited the moment in which the banners of Spain were to be displayed, in concert with those of Rome, of France, and of Germany, the bold and vigorous mind of Ximenes, whose

whose fidelity had been rewarded by his promotion to the dignity of Cardinal, suffered not the martial genius of his countrymen to languish in indolence; the revenues of Toledo were consecrated to promote the glory and extend the dominions of Spain; and at his own expence the Archbishop offered to undertake the conquest of Oran, an important fortress on the coast of Africa, almost opposite to Carthage. The land forces allotted for the service consisted of ten thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry; the transports which received them were convoyed by a strong squadron of armed galleys; large stores of provision were provided by the prudent liberality of the Archbishop; and his presence in the war which he waged against the enemies of his country and his religion, gave confidence to his followers, and energy to their counsels. They safely disembarked on the shore of Africa; and at Mazalquivir, within sight of the towers of Oran, they beheld the Moorish army ranged in order of battle. The remonstrances of his officers prevailed on Ximenes to retire from the approaching conflict; but his retreat abated not the ardour which his eloquence had inspired; the undisciplined troops of Tremecen were incapable of resisting the steady valour of the chivalry of Spain; they fled in confusion; Oran opened her gates, and the standard of Christ was displayed from her walls; nor was the modesty of Ximenes less signal in victory, than his abilities had been conspicuous in facilitating it; after providing for the security of his new acquisition, he repassed the seas, and in the studious retirement of Alcalá, sequestered himself from the applause of his countrymen.

The expedition against Oran delayed not the invasion of the republic of Venice; yet the confederates, though they acted with vigour, were far from

from being united in their hopes or views; the different princes of Italy had acceded, from fear or envy, to the league of Cambray; and the Venetians, with a presumption different from their natural character, instead of bending before the storm, prepared to encounter it with firmness.—Julius had early repented of his new alliance; and offered, if Faenza and Rimini were restored to the apostolic see, to desert the cause he had embarked in. But Venice, confident in her strength, rejected his proposals. She collected her forces, and heard, without terror, that Louis, at the head of his nobles, had crossed the Alps in person. The impetuous valour of the French, inflamed by the example of their monarch, triumphed over all obstacles. In the battle of Ghiarrada, Alviano, the Venetian General, after displaying the courage of a soldier, and the skill of a commander, was defeated, with the loss of eight thousand men; Julius immediately seized all the towns which the Republic held in the ecclesiastical territories; those on the coast of Calabria were swept away by Ferdinand. On one side, Maximilian himself, at the head of a powerful army, advanced towards Venice, while the French rapidly pushed their conquests on the other. From the height of presumption, the Venetians sunk to the lowest extreme of despair, and in their capital expected the fatal blow which was to extinguish them as a republic.

But though the allies had united to humble the pride of Venice, their success soon revived their ancient jealousy and animosities. Each dreaded the aggrandisement of the other; a mutual suspicion prevailed through every part; but above all, Ferdinand feared lest Louis should become the arbiter of Italy. Their growing discord revived the hopes of Venice; by well-timed concessions, the Senate appeased the Pope and Ferdinand; they purchased the

the neutrality of Maximilian; and by their arts at length dissolved a confederacy, which threatened to swallow up their commonwealth; but though they recovered again many of their cities, they could never entirely retrieve their former influence, or extent of territory; while in their humiliation, Louis, who had been guided rather by resentment than political motives when he engaged in the league of Cambray, was soon awakened to a mortifying sense of the error he had committed, by the perfidy of the Roman pontiff.

Elated by the effects of a league which he himself had planned, Julius conceived no enterprise too difficult, and entertained the fond hope of expelling every foreign power out of Italy. He proceeded, however, in this design with some degree of caution, and directed his first attack against the French. He absolved the Venetians from the interdict he had fulminated against them; he assisted to reconcile them to the Emperor; he negotiated with Henry the Eighth of England, who had succeeded to the throne of his father; and he at last openly declared war against the King of France; entered the duchy of Ferrara; laid siege to Mirandola; appeared in the trenches in person; and on the surrender of the city, caused himself to be carried in military triumph through the breach of the wall.

Some tincture of reverence for the successors of St. Peter, still marked the sixteenth century; and Louis was distinguished above its contemporaries for his devout respect for the holy see; but his moderation was overwhelmed by the capture of Mirandola; he gave orders to avenge the insult; and Julius, pressed by the Marechal Trivulzio, within the walls of Ravenna, dreaded the reduction of Rome, and his own deposition from the apostolic chair. He was relieved by the credulity of his

his adversary, who listened to an insidious negotiation for peace, while Julius summoned to his assistance more distant, but more powerful allies.

The promise of a large subsidy, and the prospect of plunder, allured the Swiss to quit their barren mountains for the plains of Italy; the Venetians were actuated by resentment; the other states of Italy by jealousy; and Ferdinand, ever attentive to discern his true interests, engaged to support the confederacy with the arms and treasures of Castille, of Arragon, and of Naples. His formidable preparations were urged, under pretence of waging war against the infidels; but the artifice did not elude the penetration of Louis the Twelfth: "I am," said he, "the Moor and Saracen against whom they arm in Spain." Yet the effect of the armament was felt in Africa; the Kings of Fez and Tremecen trembled at the storm which menaced them; they consented to release the Christian slaves in their hands; to become the vassals of Ferdinand; and to acknowledge his sovereignty by a considerable tribute. Satisfied with these concessions, and having vindicated the honour of his religion, the Catholic King resumed his attention to Europe; he openly joined the confederacy, which, from the Roman Pontiff, in whose defence it was framed, obtained the name of the holy league, and he detached a large body of veteran troops to reinforce the army of the allies in Italy.

The confederates ravaged the duchy of Milan, retook Brescia, and besieged Bologna; and the declining fortunes of the French were pressed on every side, when their drooping spirits were reanimated by the presence of a youthful hero, whose life was a short but rapid career of uninterrupted victory and glory.

Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, was son to John de Foix, by Mary of Orleans, sister to Louis the

the Twelfth. He was brother to Germane, the Queen of Castille and Arragon, to obtain for whom an advantageous marriage, the King of France had consented to a peace with Ferdinand. The partiality of Louis was extended early to his nephew; and though Gaston had scarce attained his twenty-third year, to his arm was assigned the honourable duty of restoring the fames and fortunes of his country; the Duke of Nemours justified the choice of his sovereign; and his martial genius burst forth with superior lustre: during the siege of Bologna, he entered the city under a favourable fall of snow, unperceived by the assailants, who instantly retired from the walls: he surprised Brescia; and with only six thousand chosen soldiers, defeated the Venetian general Baglioni, who opposed his march; and glutted his followers with the slaughter of eight thousand of the enemy. The most important victories were indeed necessary to extricate Louis from his difficulties; and that monarch, sensible that the Florentines were ready to declare for the holy league, sent orders to Gaston to hazard a decisive action.

The jealousy of his master, rather than age, restrained Gonsalvo from the field; and soon after, in retirement, the greatest captain that Spain had ever produced breathed his last. The troops of Ferdinand were entrusted to, and the allies were commanded by, Raymond de Cordona, Viceroy of Naples: to induce the latter to hazard a general engagement, the Duke of Nemours laid siege to Ravenna. The confederates advanced to the relief of that city; the two armies were nearly equal in numbers, but the talents of their leaders were far from being balanced. In the battle of Ravenna, Gaston displayed the qualities of a consummate general, and intrepid soldier. The confederates were broken by his superior genius and valour; but
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though the day was lost, the Spaniards maintained their reputation for steady courage; amidst the rout and dismay of their allies, their ranks were compact, their countenance undaunted; they still continued in their retreat to repulse the attacks of their adversaries; impatient of rendering his victory complete by their destruction, Gaston himself, with about twenty gentlemen rushed to the charge; he was received with firmness, and oppressed by numbers; his horse was killed under him; and though his attendants conjured the Spaniards to respect the life of the brother of their Queen Germane, their cries were either disregarded, or drowned by the tumult of battle; and the Duke of Nemours, after having fought with the most heroic courage, fell, pierced with twenty-two wounds.

With their general, the fortune of the French seems to have expired; and the vanquished army considered their defeat as more than compensated by his death. They resumed their wonted ascendancy, while the former sunk once more beneath their adverse fate. The Marechal Trivulzio, who succeeded to the command, possessed neither the genius nor the influence of his predecessor. His orders were frequently disobeyed or neglected by his officers; and instead of aspiring to extend, he gradually abdicated the conquests of Gaston. The death of Julius the Second did not suspend the immediate ardour of the confederates; John de Medicis, his successor in the apostolic chair, appeared also to have succeeded to his designs; the Swiss broke into the Milanese, defeated the Marechals Tremouille and Trivulzio with signal slaughter, and restored the Duchy to the authority of Francis Sforza, the son of the unfortunate Ludovico. Thence diverting the stream of conquest to the right, they penetrated into Burgundy, and laid siege to Dijon; and it was only by the liberal distribution of a sum of
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of money, and the more liberal promises of Louis that Dijon was preserved from their rapacious arms.

Genoa seized the favourable moment to throw off the yoke : the Emperor menaced the security of Champagne ; and Henry the Eighth of England, young and ardent, and inflamed with the prospect of military glory, landed at Calais, and formed the siege of Terouanne, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy. To the relief of that place, Louis advanced as far as Amiens ; but the cavalry of France endeavouring to cover a convoy, was attacked by the English ; though composed of gentlemen who had served with the greatest gallantry in the wars of Italy, they yielded to the panic which the sudden sight of the enemy inspired, and from the precipitation with which they fled, the rout of that day has obtained the name of *the battle of the Spurs*. Terouanne immediately capitulated ; and in compliance with the solicitations of Maximilian, Henry soon after undertook the siege of, and reduced, Tournay, a city of Flanders.

While the other confederates wasted their forces in enterprises from which they could derive but little advantage, the sagacious Ferdinand maturely revolved the distress of his enemy and his own interests ; instead of aspiring to future conquests in Italy, he was content to observe the motions of his adversary, and to support by detachments the cause of the allies. A more important acquisition occupied his attention ; from the frontiers of Biscay to the Pyrenees, the kingdom of Navarre stretched sixty miles in breadth and seventy-five in length. The sceptre, by marriage, had passed to the hand of John of Albret ; and his connection with the court of France was readily seized by Ferdinand, as a pretext to invade a territory he had long contemplated with desire. A frivolous manifesto, which thinly veiled the encroaching disposition of the

the King of Spain, was supported by a numerous and veteran army, commanded by the Duke of Alva, whose unrelenting and persevering spirit admirably qualified him for the conduct of an enterprise founded on injustice, and where the broken and mountainous face of the country presented the principal obstacle. The King of Navarre was hardly allowed time to reject the ignominious proposal of delivering his son the Prince of Viana, and three of his strongest forts, into the hands of Ferdinand, as securities for his pacific intentions, before the banners of Spain were displayed beneath the walls of his capital. Situated on the banks of the Arga, the natural strength of Pampeluna resisted for some time the arms of Alva; but the garrison were at once assailed by famine and the sword; their monarch, in exile beyond the Pyrenees, in vain implored from Louis those succours which his own distresses allowed him not to grant; and they reluctantly submitted to the terms which were prescribed by Alva; the lives and property of the inhabitants were spared; but they were obliged to ratify their allegiance to their new master by a formal oath; and by the conquest of Navarre, the Spanish monarchy was extended from the frontiers of Portugal, on one side, to the Pyrenees on the other.

To secure Navarre was the policy of Ferdinand; and Louis, after some ineffectual attempts to restore his ally, was compelled to resign him to his fate. To a prince who possessed a nice sense of honour, the sacrifice was, doubtless, painful; but the forces of Spain threatened Guienne and Languedoc, while those of the empire menaced Champagne, and the English ravaged Picardy. The formidable combination was, however, soon dissolved; Ferdinand was content with what he had already acquired; Maximilian,

Maximilian, incapable of steadiness in his plans, was impatient for peace; and they both readily listened to the overture of Louis of bestowing his second daughter on one of their common grandsons; though the negociation of marriage was never concluded, yet it produced a cessation of hostilities on the side of Guienne and Languedoc; and it was only in Italy, as the ally of the Roman pontiff, that the banners of Spain were opposed to those of France.

The prosperity that attended Ferdinand in public life, had not entirely accompanied him in private; a numerous race of grandchildren, by Joanna and Philip, destined to share or possess, by marriage, by inheritance, or election, the various crowns of Europe, were rather the objects of his jealousy than his affection. He considered Charles in particular as his rival instead of his successor. One son alone had been the fruit of his union with Germane, who, had he lived, would have deprived Charles of the crowns of Arragon, Naples, Sicilly, and Sardinia; but the feeble infant scarce beheld the light, before he expired; and the solicitude of Ferdinand for other children, induced him, in his advanced age, to have recourse to his physicians, and, by their prescriptions, to one of those potions which are supposed to add vigour to the constitution, though they more frequently prove fatal to it; Germane still proved barren, but the health of Ferdinand was poisoned; a constant languor and dejection of mind succeeded; and his shattered frame bespoke his approaching dissolution.

Ferdinand was not the only monarch whose vigour was exhausted in the embraces of a youthful consort; it had been the observation of Louis of France, that "Love was the king of young men, but the tyrant of old;" yet, at the age of fifty-three,

three, he fought the hand of Mary of England, who had scarce completed her sixteenth year. An immediate peace with Henry was the consequence of this marriage; but the King of France survived not long enough to reap any material advantage from this new alliance: Mary, to youth added beauty and vivacity; and the desire of Louis to please his charming bride, was fatal to his life.—The Royal palace was the constant scene of festivity; but the strength of the King was inadequate to his pursuit of pleasure. Three months after his nuptials, he was seized with a fever and dysentery, and breathed his last at Paris. In him expired the elder branch of the house of Orleans, and in his successor, Francis the First, the sceptre was transferred to that of Angoulême.

Ferdinand could not be indifferent to the death of Louis; and the accession of a new monarch to the throne of France, whose ardent spirit, impatient for glory, menaced, and long violated, the repose of Europe. Yet, the first message of Francis to the court of Madrid, bore the appearance of amity; and he expressed, by his ambassador, his wishes that a partial truce should be ratified between the two kingdoms, on the side of Navarre. The object of the negociation did not escape the penetration of Ferdinand; and his answer, that he was willing to agree to an honourable peace, which might include Italy, revealed his just suspicions.

The same thirst of transalpine conquests inflamed Francis, as had agitated the reigns of his predecessors Charles and Louis. At the head of a gallant nobility, he broke, like a torrent, into the Milanese, which had again acknowledged the authority of the house of Sforza. In the bloody battle of Marignano, the Swiss, after an obstinate resistance, which was continued through two successive days, were compelled to retire from the field, with

with the loss of ten thousand of their countrymen ; and Francis, whose personal valour had shone conspicuous in the hour of slaughter, rapidly improved his victory ; he advanced to Milan, and possessed himself of the capital and person of Sforza, who, destitute of talents, and the honourable pride of a Prince, was content to implore the mercy of his conqueror ; and on a pension assigned him by the latter, lingered at Paris for fifteen years through a life of contempt.

The progress of Francis had roused Ferdinand from the couch of indisposition ; all Spain resounded with his preparations. The States of Arragon, who had delayed their proportion of the supplies, were severely rebuked by a sovereign, who neither wanted ability nor resolution to compel their obedience. A new treaty was negotiated with Henry of England ; and, across the Straits of Gibraltar, the tribes of Fez and Morocco, alarmed at the magnitude of his armaments, solicited, by costly presents, the friendship of Ferdinand.

But while the eyes of the greater part of Europe and Africa were fixed on that monarch, he himself drew near the final period of his reign and life. The exertions he had made, exhausted the small remnant of his strength ; yet though he now despaired of having any son of his own, his aversion to the Archduke did not abate ; and to gratify this unnatural passion, he made a will, appointing his grandson Ferdinand regent of all his kingdoms until the arrival of his brother, and by the same deed he settled upon him the grand mastership of the three military orders. The former of these grants might have empowered the young prince to have disputed the throne, the latter would have rendered him independent of it. The honest remonstrances of his most ancient and faithful counsellors prevailed on the expiring monarch to retract the injurious disposition ;

position; and by his last testament he contented himself with bequeathing Ferdinand the annual sum of fifty thousand ducats, instead of the princely inheritance he had flattered him with; and left the administration of Castille, until the arrival of Charles, in the hands of Ximenes.

It was in a narrow inn in the obscure village of Madragalajo, on his way to Andalusia, that Ferdinand, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, breathed his last; he encountered death with a composure which, by his admirers, has been ascribed to the satisfaction that arose from the review of his reign, and by his enemies has been imputed to that dissimulation which they asserted did not forsake him in the hour of his dissolution. Yet though he possessed not that ardent courage which was requisite to command the admiration of the high-spirited Castilians, yet, in every emergency he displayed a mind calm but undaunted. More politic than brave, more covetous of power than of fame, he regarded but little the means by which he obtained his ends; and to extend his dominions, he frequently violated his faith. Jealous of his authority, he viewed the merits of his subjects with a suspicious eye; and though he availed himself of, he dreaded those superior talents, which, in the popular estimation, might raise the possessor to a level with the throne. His injurious recall of Gonsalvo, his base ingratitude to Columbus, tarnish the lustre of his reign; and while he rewarded with a cold and reluctant hand, he punished with rigid and exemplary justice. The same economy which he introduced into the state, he practised in private life; and the imposts he levied on his people, were scrupulously devoted to extend the boundaries and glory of his kingdom. Castille, which had been confined to wage a doubtful war within the limits of the Pyrenees, or against the Moors of Africa, beneath

beneath his auspices assumed a commanding station in the politics of Europe ; he added to it by inheritance the crowns of Arragon, Sicily, and Sardinia ; and by conquest, the kingdoms of Grenada, of Naples, and of Navarre. He crushed the exorbitant pretensions of the nobles, and exalted the prerogatives of the sovereign ; he broke the strength of the feudal system, gave vigour to the executive power, and efficacy to the laws.—But one plant of noxious quality struck root beneath his administration ; and the inquisition, which he first grafted on the constitution of Spain, and which he carefully cherished, in successive reigns darkened with its baneful shade the happiness of the people ; and though its branches have been lopped by the hand of philosophy, yet, in the eighteenth century its trunk has still been spared, and remains a melancholy proof of the extent of religious persecution.

CHAPTER XI.

Accession of Charles—His Subjection to his Favourites—State of Spain—Administration of Ximenes—Proclaims Charles King at Madrid—Humbles the Nobility—His prudent Measures in regard to Navarre—Unfortunate Expedition against Barbarossa—Rapacity of Charles's Favourites—Complaints of Ximenes—Peace established between France and Spain by the Treaty of Noyon—Charles embarks for Spain—Lands at Villa-Viciosa—Ximenes advances to meet him—Is seized with a violent Indisposition—Suspensions of Poison—Remonstrates to the King on the dangerous Ascendancy of his Flemish Courtiers—Is neglected by Charles, who dismisses him from the Administration—Death of Ximenes—His Memory respected in Spain—Charles is acknowledged King, in Conjunction with Joanna—Discontents of the Spaniards—Rapacity of the Flemings—Death of Maximilian—Charles aspires to the Imperial Crown—Is opposed by Francis—Moderation of Frederick Duke of Saxony, surnamed the Sage—Charles is elected Emperor.

WHEN the death of Ferdinand devolved on Charles the rich inheritance of Castille, of Arragon, and Navarre, of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, he had not completed his sixteenth year; but his early youth had been formed by Margaret of Austria, his aunt and Margaret of York, the widow of Charles the Bold, two princesses of great virtue and abilities. On the death

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death of his father Philip, William de Croy, Lord of Chievres, and Adrian of Utrecht, were chosen by his grandfather Maximilian to superintend his education, and cultivate his mind. The latter fruitlessly endeavoured to initiate into him the frivolous science of metaphysical theology; but the former successfully encouraged him to excel in the violent exercises of a martial life: he instructed him in the arts of government; he made him study the history not only of his own kingdoms, but of those with which they were connected; he accustomed him, from his fifteenth year, when he assumed the government of Flanders, to attend to business; he persuaded him to peruse all papers relative to state affairs, to be present at the deliberations of his privy counsellors, and to propose to them himself those matters concerning which he required their opinion. From such an education, Charles contracted habits of gravity and recollection, which could not be expected from his time of life; yet the first openings of his genius did not indicate that superiority which its maturer age displayed; and though his subjects were dazzled with the external accomplishments of a graceful figure and manly address, his early obsequiousness to Chievres, inspired them with no faint apprehensions that he would be the slave, and themselves the victim, of the arts and passions of his favourites.

It was at Brussels that Charles received the intelligence of the death of Ferdinand; gratitude to his tutor had induced him to appoint Adrian of Utrecht regent of Spain; and Ximenes, instead of opposing the nomination, consented to acknowledge, and to carry on, the government, in conjunction with Adrian. But though he allowed the latter to possess a nominal dignity, and constantly treated him with respect, yet his superior abilities commanded the acquiescence of his colleague, and the whole

whole power remained in his hands. Nor was it more than the critical juncture of affairs demanded; the feudal institutions, though shaken by Ferdinand, still subsisted; the nobles were still powerful, haughty, and warlike; the cities of Spain were numerous and considerable; the personal rights and political influence of the inhabitants of those cities were extensive; and those restraints which had been imposed by the sagacity and vigour of the late monarch, once withdrawn, faction and discontent were ready to break out with fiercer animosity.

But happily for Spain, the genius of Ximenes was equal to every difficulty. He fixed at Madrid, and narrowly observed, the infant Don Ferdinand, who having been flattered with so near a prospect of supreme power, bore the disappointment of his hopes with greater impatience than a prince at so early an age could have been supposed to feel. A greater source of uneasiness accrued to him from his first dispatches from the Low Countries, by the advice of his Flemish ministers, Charles resolved to assume the title of king; as such, he prevailed on the Pope and the Emperor to address letters to him; and it was pretended that the former, as head of the church, and the latter, as head of the empire, had a right to confer this dignity. Instructions were immediately sent to Ximenes, to persuade the Spaniards to acknowledge this claim; but by the laws of Spain the sole right to the crowns of Castille and Arragon belonged to Joanna; and though her infirmities disqualified her from governing, her incapacity had not been declared by any public act of the Cortes in either kingdom; and the pretensions of Charles were considered by both nations not only as a direct violation of their privileges, but as an unnatural usurpation of a son on the prerogatives of a mother. Yet though Ximenes re-

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monstrated against the measure as unpopular and unnecessary, he carried it into execution with vigour and promptitude.—“This day,” said he in a firm and decisive tone, to the nobles who murmured, and talked about the rights of Joanna, “Charles shall be proclaimed King of Castille in Madrid; and the rest of the cities will, I doubt not, follow the example of the capital.” Notwithstanding the secret discontent of many persons of rank, his orders were instantly obeyed, and Charles’s title recognised; but the states of Arragon were less compliant; the Archbishop of Saragossa, who was entrusted with the administration of that country, possessed not the energy or resolution of Ximenes; nor was Charles acknowledged by the Arragonians by any other title but that of Prince, until his arrival in Spain.

Neither the precarious nature of his authority, nor the advanced time of his life, could check the bold and commanding spirit of Ximenes. To establish firmly, against the formidable pretensions of the nobility, the throne of his master, was his first and principal object. By the feudal constitution, the military power was lodged in the hands of the nobles, whom persons of an inferior condition followed into the field as vassals. On these potent barons the king relied in all his operations. From this state of dependence Ximenes resolved to deliver the Crown; and as mercenary armies were still unknown in Castille, he issued a proclamation, commanding every city to enroll and train to arms a certain number of its burghesses. The frequent incursions of the Moors from Africa afforded a plausible pretence for this innovation, but concealed not his intentions from the nobility. Instead of opposing openly the measures themselves, their emissaries excited the cities to disobedience; and Charles and his Flemish ministers were alarmed by

by the remonstrances and insurrections of the citizens of Burgor and Valladolid.

But the Cardinal himself stood firm, amidst the rising apprehension; he alternately availed himself of menaces and intreaties; and no sooner had he insured submission, than he prepared to make use of the force he had acquired; he ordered a strict inquiry to be made into the property of the Barons; part of this consisted of grants obtained, or of lands wrested from the Crown during the moment of its weakness. To have traced back the origin of these encroachments, would have been almost impracticable.—The prudence of Ximenes confined him to the reign of Ferdinand: he asserted that the pensions granted by that great monarch expired with his life; he resumed the lands that had been alienated by him: and though the disposition of the latter allowed him to indulge in few acts of generosity, yet as he had been raised to the throne by a faction, which had stipulated their recompense, the resumption was far from inconsiderable; and when applied by the frugal economy of Ximenes, was not only sufficient to discharge the debts which Ferdinand had left, and to remit considerable sums to Flanders, but to pay the officers of his new militia, and to replenish the magazines with warlike stores of every description.

Yet these revocations were not made without frequent murmurs; and the nobles, alarmed at successive attacks, prepared to appeal against the decisions of the minister to the sword. Before they had recourse to extremities, they appointed some of their numbers to examine the powers, in consequence of which Ximenes exercised such high acts of authority. The testament of Ferdinand, and the ratification of that deed by Charles, were produced, and objected to by the Admiral of Castille, the Duke de Infantado, and the Count de Benevento,

nevento, who had been entrusted with the commission. As the conversation grew warm, they were insensibly led by Ximenes towards a balcony, from which they had a view of a large body of troops under arms, and of a formidable train of artillery. "Behold," said he, pointing to these, and raising his voice, "the powers which I have received from his Catholic Majesty. With these I govern Castille, and with these I will govern it, until the King your master and mine takes possession of his kingdom." An answer so bold and haughty disconcerted the associates; to take arms against a man who was aware of his danger, would have only been to have precipitated their own destruction; all thoughts of confederacy were abandoned; and notwithstanding the secret resentment of the nobles, and the more open jealousy of the Flemish ministers of Charles, Ximenes still continued to steer with a steady hand the vessel of the state, and to secure, by his sagacity and firmness, the tranquillity of Castille.

Two foreign wars served to augment his embarrassments, and to display his penetration and magnanimity. Navarre was invaded by its unfortunate monarch John d'Albret; but that prince, on the approach of the Spanish army, retired with precipitation; and the judgment of Ximenes was exercised in dismantling the towns and castles which were incapable of resisting an enemy, and only furnished them with places of retreat; Pampaluna, the capital, alone was spared, and the fortifications strengthened: to this precaution Spain probably owes the possession of Navarre; for though the French have since often overrun the country, yet destitute of any strong hold to retire to, they have been obliged, on the approach of the troops of Spain, to abandon their conquests with as much rapidity as they made them.

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The expedition which the Cardinal had planned against Horuc Barbarossa, who, from a private corsair, had raised himself to be King of Algiers and Tunis, was not equally successful. The misconduct of the Spanish general, and the presumption of his troops, proved fatal to their hopes; many perished in the battle, more in the retreat; but the disappointment served only to add fresh lustre to the character of Ximenes; and the admirable temper of mind with which he bore it, convinced the world that his fortitude was superior to the caprice of fortune.

Yet though he found resources against the foreign foes of the state, he was doomed at length to sink beneath the envy and malice of his private enemies. The character of Chievres was sullied by an ignoble and sordid avarice; he availed himself of his favour with Charles to expose to sale the most important appointments in Spain; his example was followed by the other Flemish courtiers; and every thing became venal, and was disposed of to the highest bidder; Ximenes failed not to inveigh with honest indignation against the disgraceful traffic, and to represent, in the strongest terms, the necessity of the royal presence in Spain; though the partiality of Charles for Chievres permitted him not to listen to the former part of the remonstrance, he was convinced of the propriety of the latter; powerful obstacles, however, prevented his immediate acquiescence with it. The war which had arisen from the holy league still subsisted, though the duration of it had abated the ardour, and nearly exhausted the strength, of the contending parties. It had been transmitted by Ferdinand to his grandson, who, as King of Spain, was in actual hostility with France. But Chievres, conscious of the advantages which his countrymen the Flemings derived from their commerce with the French, warmly recom-
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mended an accommodation ; he was himself entrusted with the negociation ; and the King of France, destitute of allies, and sollicitous to secure his late conquests in Italy by a peace, listened with joy to the first overtures. A few days after the commissioners opened the conference at Noyon, they subscribed a treaty, which bore the name of the place where it was signed ; and of which the principal articles were, that Francis should give in marriage to Charles his eldest daughter the Princess Louisa, an infant of a year old ; and as her dowry should make over to him all his claims and pretensions upon the kingdom of Naples ; that in consideration of Charles's being already in possession of Naples, he should, until the accomplishment of the marriage, pay one hundred thousand crowns a year to the King of France ; and the half of that sum annually as long as the princess had no children ; and that when Charles should arrive in Spain, the heirs of the King of Navarre, for John d'Albret had expired of chagrin, might represent to him their right to that kingdom, and if they obtained not satisfaction, Francis was left at liberty to assist him with his forces.

Such were the conditions of the treaty of Noyon, which were too favourable for France for her King to expect they would be long observed, and which Charles probably would never have signed, had he not been desirous to secure a safe passage into his Spanish dominions. Yet, after the conclusion of it, the ascendancy of his Flemish favourites, who dreaded his interview with Ximenes, detained him above a year in the Netherlands ; and it was only the repeated entreaties of the Cardinal, and the murmurs of the Spaniards, that prevailed on him at last to embark. He was accompanied by Chievres, and a splendid train of Spanish nobles ; and after a dangerous voyage, he landed at Villa-Viciosa, in the
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province of Asturias, and was received with the loudest acclamations by his subjects, who had long languished for the presence of their sovereign.

No sooner was Ximenes informed of the arrival of Charles, than he advanced towards the coast to meet him. But at Bos Equillos, his journey was arrested by a violent indisposition, which his followers attributed to poison. They variously imputed it to the resentment of the Spanish nobles, or to the Flemish courtiers, who dreaded lest the wisdom, the integrity, and the magnanimity of the Cardinal, might command the admiration and respect of a young monarch, capable himself of noble and generous sentiments. Yet the extreme old age of Ximenes seems to have rendered so black an expedient unnecessary; and his illness was probably the effect of fatigue and of increasing years and infirmities; unable to travel, from his couch had dictated a letter to his sovereign, with his usual boldness; in which he advised him to dismiss the strangers in his train, whose numbers and credit already gave offence to the Spaniards, and would, ere long, alienate their affections. At the same time, he earnestly solicited an interview with the King, that he might inform him of the state of the nation, and the temper of his subjects. To prevent this, not only the Flemish, but the Spanish nobles, employed all their address; and while Ximenes had the mortification to find all his counsels neglected, and in the bitterness of disappointment foretold the calamities which impended over his country, from the insolence, the rapacity and ignorance of foreign minions, his anguish was augmented by a letter from the King, in which, after a few cold and formal expressions of regard, he was allowed to retire to his diocese, that, after a life of such continued labour he might end his days in tranquillity. He received not the message with his usual fortitude; probably
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his haughty mind could not brook disgrace ; probably his generous spirit could not bear the misfortunes which menaced his country ; he expired a few hours after reading the letter : and though the first news of his death was received by his sovereign with indifference, his more mature reflection could not refuse his admiration to the variety, the grandeur, and the success of the plans of Ximenes ; whose reputation still is high in Spain, not only for wisdom but for sanctity ; and who is the only prime minister mentioned in history, whom his contemporaries revered as a saint, and to whom the people under his government ascribed the power of working miracles.

Charles had scarce entered Valladolid, before he was awakened to the loss he had sustained in the death of the Cardinal ; the Cortes of Castille, which had been summoned to meet him, consented to acknowledge him formally as King in conjunction with his mother ; but they appointed the name of Joanna to be placed in all public acts before that of her son ; and they declared, that if at any future period she should recover the use of her reason, the whole royal authority should return into her hands. With less reluctance they voted a free gift of six hundred thousand ducats to be paid in three years ; a sum more than had been granted to any former monarch.— Yet though the states indulged in these acts of loyalty and compliance, the symptoms of discontent throughout the kingdom were manifest. Charles himself spoke the Spanish language imperfectly ; his answers were consequently short, and often delivered with hesitation. Thence many of the Spaniards were influenced to believe him a prince of slow and narrow genius ; some pretended to discover a strong resemblance between him and his unhappy mother ; and all concurred in condemning his attachment

tachment and partiality to his Flemish favourites. These engrossed, or exposed to sale, every appointment; and so indefatigable was their rapacity, that they are reported to have remitted to the Low Countries, in the space of ten months, no less a sum than eleven hundred thousand ducats. The ascendancy of Chievres over the mind of the youthful prince was not only that of a tutor but of a parent; and the nomination of his nephew William de Croy, a young man, not of canonical age, to the Archbishopric of Toledo, was considered not only as an injury but an insult to the whole nation; it united the murmurs of the clergy and laity; the former exclaiming against it from interest, the latter from indignation.

From Castille Charles pursued his rout to Saragossa, to be present in the Assembly of the states of Arragon. Before his departure, to prevent any dangers from the intrigues or ambition of his brother Ferdinand, he sent him into Germany, under the pretence of visiting their grandfather Maximilian. He found the Cortes of Arragon less tractable than those of Castille; it was with difficulty they were prevailed on to recognize his title of King, in conjunction with his mother; they limited their liberality to a grant of two hundred thousand ducats; and even that was not voted until he had bound himself by a solemn oath never to violate their ancient rights. The Assembly of Catalonia were still more tardy, and less generous in their supplies; while the Castilians, roused by their example, resolved no longer to submit with tameness to the oppressive schemes of the Flemings. Segovia, Toledo, Seville, and several other great cities, entered into a confederacy for the defence of their peculiar privileges; they remonstrated with boldness against the preferment of strangers, the exportation of the current coin, and the increase of
taxes :

taxes: and by these early measures, they first laid the foundation of that famous union among the Commons of Castille, which not long after threw the kingdom into such violent convulsions as shook the throne, and almost overturned the constitution.

Charles might turn with neglect from the remonstrances of his subjects, but he was forced to receive with some external marks of respect those of his allies. The Ambassadors of Francis the First, and the young King of Navarre, demanded, according to the treaty of Noyon, the restitution of that kingdom. But neither the monarch himself, nor his Castilian nobles, whom he consulted on this occasion, discovered any inclination to part with that acquisition. A fruitless conference was held soon after at Montpellier, in order to bring this matter to an amicable issue; but while the French urged the injustice of the usurpation, the Spaniards were attentive only to its importance.

While this discussion seemed to menace the tranquillity of France and Spain, a new event served to inflame the jealousy of their respective Sovereigns. The death of the Emperor Maximilian left vacant the imperial throne; and by the Italian wars, the European princes had been instructed in the advantages which might be derived from that dignity. Not long before his death, Maximilian had endeavoured to transmit it in the house of Austria, and to procure the King of Spain to be chosen as his successor: but he himself having never been crowned by the Pope, a ceremony deemed essential in that age, was considered only as Emperor *elect*, and styled *King of the Romans*; and no example occurring in history of any person being chosen a successor to a King of the Romans, the Germans, always tenacious of their forms, had
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obstinately refused to accede to the wishes of Maximilian.

His death removed that obstacle ; and Charles openly aspired to the imperial crown. The long continuance of it in the house of Austria, and the negociations of Maximilian, had prepared the minds of the Germans for his elevation. But what he chiefly relied on was, the fortunate situation of his hereditary dominions on the banks of the Danube, which presented a natural barrier to the empire against the encroachments of the Turkish power. The conquests, the abilities, and the ambition of Selim the Second, had spread a general alarm throughout Europe ; he added Syria and Egypt to his empire, and was ready to turn his arms against Christendom. To stop the progress of this torrent, Charles enforced the necessity of electing an Emperor, who, to extensive territories in that country, where the impression would first be felt, joined the resources of a powerful monarchy, and an ample revenue from the mines of the new world, and the commerce of the Low Countries. A formidable rival, however, entered the lists against him ; and Francis, already renowned for his gallantry and victory in the battle of Marignano, declared himself a candidate for the imperial dignity. His emissaries contended that it was high time to convince the princes of the House of Austria that the crown was elective, and not hereditary ; that a king who, in his early youth, had triumphed over the valour and discipline of the Swiss, until then reckoned invincible, would be an antagonist worthy the conqueror of the East ; and instead of waiting the approach of the Ottoman forces, might carry hostilities into the heart of their dominions. They urged that the election of Charles would be inconsistent with a fundamental constitution, by which the person who holds the crown of Naples is

is excluded from the imperial throne; and sensible of the prejudices that might be entertained against Francis as a foreigner, they endeavoured to gain the electors by immense gifts, and boundless promises. As the expeditious method of transmitting money, and the decent mode of conveying a bribe, by bills of exchange, were then little known, the French Ambassadors travelled with a train of horses loaded with treasure; an equipage, not very honourable for that prince by whom they were employed, and infamous for those to whom they were sent.

The common interests of the other European princes ought to have combined them in disappointing the interests of both competitors, and preventing either of them from attaining a dangerous pre-eminence. But the passions of some, and the want of foresight in others, hindered such a salutary union. Henry the eighth of England, who had often boasted that he held the balance of Europe in his hand, after vainly declaring himself a candidate, had withdrawn from the hopeless contest, and involved in a fastidious contemplation of his own importance, maintained a negligent neutrality. The Swiss were prompted by their recollection of the disastrous field of Marignano, to give an open preference to the pretensions of Charles; the Venetians were instigated by their jealousy of the house of Austria, whose ambition and neighbourhood had been fatal to their grandeur, to sanction the claim of Francis; while Leo the Tenth, who then filled the apostolic chair, weighed with a solicitude worthy of his penetration, the dangers which might arise from the choice of either of the contending monarchs; he foretold that the election of each would alike be fatal to the independence of the holy see, to the peace of Italy, and perhaps to the liberties of Europe; and he secretly exhorted

the German princes to place one of their own number on the imperial throne, many of whom were capable of filling it with honour.

The counsels of Leo were too sage not to make some impression; the diet was opened in form at Frankfort; and the seven great princes, the Archbishops of Mentz, of Cologne, and of Triers, the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Marquis of Brandenburg, whose various offices invested them, under the title of electors, with the right of chusing a sovereign, notwithstanding the artful arguments produced by the Ambassadors of the two kings, did not forget that the first principle of German policy was to limit the power of the Emperor; and that the choice of either of the contending monarchs would have given to the empire a master instead of an head; and would have reduced themselves from the rank of his equals to the condition of his subjects.

Impressed by these ideas, they turned their eyes on Frederick Duke of Saxony, a prince of such eminent virtue and abilities, as to be distinguished by the name of *Sage*, and with one voice offered him the imperial crown. His answer proved him worthy of the enviable distinction he had attained; and while he rejected the alluring proposal, he advised them to commit the sceptre to some more powerful hand. "In times of tranquillity," said he, "we wish for an emperor who has not power to invade our liberties; times of danger demand one who is able to secure our safety. The Turkish armies are ready to pour in upon Germany with a violence unknown in former ages; to oppose them we must have recourse to one of the rival monarchs; but as the King of Spain is of German extraction, and a member of the empire; as his dominions stretch along that frontier
" which

“ which lies most exposed to the enemy ; his claim
“ is preferable to that of a stranger to our language,
“ to our blood, and to our country.” The disinterested voice of Frederic decided the important contest ; no prince in Germany could aspire to a dignity which he had declined for reasons applicable to them all : after a suspension of above five months, the Archbishop of Triers, the only firm adherent to the French interest, yielded to the remonstrances of his brethren ; Charles was by the unanimous voice of the electoral college raised to the imperial throne ; while Francis, after exhausting his coffers, had the mortification of beholding a young and inexperienced prince preferred to the conqueror of Milan.

CHAPTER XII.

Discontent of Spain—Establishment of the Germanada in Valencia—Remonstrances of the Castilians—Departure of Charles for Germany—He nominates Adrian Regent of Castille—He lands in England, and gains the friendship of Henry—He receives the Imperial Crown at Aix-la-Chapelle—State of Germany—Decreasing Influence of the See of Rome—Doctrines of Luther—Their Progress—Luther renounces the Authority of the Pope—Diet assembled at Worms by the Emperor to maintain the ancient Religion—Conduct of Charles—Dissensions in Castille—Injudicious Measures of Adrian—Association of the principal Cities, under the Name of the Junta—They possess themselves of the Person of Joanna—They divest Adrian of all Authority—Their Remonstrance—Union of the Crown and Nobles against them—Misconduct of their General Don Pedro de Giron—They are defeated under Padilla—Magnanimous Behaviour and Death of Padilla—The Junta is dissolved—Resistance of the City of Toledo, and of Donna Maria, the Widow of Pacheco—Commutations in Valencia—Defeat and Extinction of the Germanada.

AT Barcelona, Charles received the
 A. D. 1519. news of his election to the imperial throne, with that joy which is natural to a young and aspiring mind. But his promotion was far from imparting the same satisfaction to his Spanish subjects; they dreaded the absence of their sovereign; they predicted

dicted that their blood and treasures would be lavished in support of German politics; and they dwelt with pleasure on the fortitude and public spirit of their ancestors, who in the Cortes of Castille, prohibited Alfonso the Wise from leaving the kingdom, to assume the proffered Crown of the empire. A fullen and refractory disposition prevailed among persons of all ranks; the nobles of Valencia refused to admit the Cardinal Adrian as the royal representative, and firmly declared, that by the fundamental laws of the country, they could not grant any subsidy to an absent sovereign; exasperated by their obstinacy, Charles countenanced the people who had risen against the privileges of the Valencian barons; he rashly authorised them to continue in arms; and the association, which with his sanction, they entered into, under the name of *Germanada*, or *Brotherhood*, proved the source of the most fatal calamities to the kingdom.

Castille was not agitated with less violence; the principal cities resolved to remonstrate against the intended departure of the King for Germany; and Charles, conscious of their disposition, instead of Valladolid, summoned the Cortes to meet at Compostella, a town of Galicia, where he thought he should be more secure than amidst the high-spirited inhabitants of the former city. But the expedient was far from answering his expectations; every town he passed through presented a petition against the innovation; and though he remained inflexible, yet it was not until after a violent opposition, and every artifice had been employed to gain the nobles, that he obtained from the Cortes that donative which had been his object in assembling them. Even the contagion of discontent spread through the ecclesiastical order. The Pope had granted the King the tenth of benefices in Castille, to assist him in carrying on war with greater vigour

vigour against the Turks; but a convocation of the clergy unanimously refused to levy that sum, under pretence that it ought never to be exacted, but when Christendom was actually invaded by the infidels; and though Leo, in order to support his authority, laid the kingdom under an interdict, so little regard was paid to a censure which was universally doomed unjust, that the King was reduced to the mortification of applying himself to have it taken it off.

Amidst these general marks of disaffection, Charles having obtained those subsidies which were necessary for him to appear in Germany with splendour suited to the imperial dignity, resolved not to retard his departure; he nominated, as regent, during his absence, the Cardinal Adrian; and conferred the viceroyalty of Arragon on Don John de Lanuza, and that of Valencia, on Don Diego de Mendoza, Count of Melito. The appointment of the two latter was universally acceptable; but though Adrian was the least obnoxious of the Flemings, the Castilian pride was deeply wounded by the preference of a stranger to their own nobility; and the injudicious choice served to inflame that hatred to foreigners, which had long formed a prominent feature of the national character.

Without regarding their murmurs, A. D. 1520,
1521. Charles about the middle of May, embarked at Corunna for the Netherlands, on his route to Germany; but conscious of the seeds of hostility which still survived between himself and the King of France, he was peculiarly desirous of acquiring the alliance of Henry the Eighth of England, whose possession of Calais served not only as a key to France, but opened a ready road into the Low Countries, and rendered him the natural arbiter between the rival monarchs. But vain, imperious, and haughty, a slave to his own passions, or to the arts of his favourites, Henry, in his friendship

ship for foreign powers, was more frequently influenced by resentment than by policy; to display magnificence, and indulge his love of pleasure, he had agreed to an interview with the French King between Guisnes and Ardres; and Charles, to disappoint the effects of it, and previously engage his favour, steered directly from Corunna to England, and landed at Dover; Henry hastened to receive, with every distinction, his illustrious guest; and though the latter, to whom time was precious, staid only four days, he contrived in that space to give the King of England favourable impressions of his disposition and intentions, and to attach to his interest Wolsey, his favourite and minister; a man who, from the lowest rank of life, had ascended to an height which no English subject had ever before attained, and who governed the untractable spirit of Henry with absolute authority. To gratify his avarice, Charles settled on him a pension of seven thousand ducats; to flatter his ambition, he engaged, in case of the death of Leo the Tenth, to promote his succession to the apostolic chair: Wolsey eagerly grasped at the offer, and obtained a promise from his sovereign, that after the interview with Francis at Guisnes, he would return the visit of Charles in the Low Countries.

The tranquillity of the Netherlands afforded Charles a short respite from business; he could not but compare with pleasure the respect and obedience with which he was received in his native country, to the resistance he had encountered in Spain. A few weeks after his arrival, he hastened to Gravelines to meet, according to appointment, the King of England. The interview between the two monarchs was conducted with less pomp than that of Guisnes, but with greater attention to political interest. Charles offered to submit any dispute which might arise between Francis and

and himself to the arbitration of Henry; and by the deference which he seemed to pay to the opinion of the latter, effaced all the impressions which the frank and liberal nature of his rival had made; he also renewed his engagements with Wolsey, and again flattered the hopes of that aspiring favourite with the prospect of the papacy.

Satisfied with these precautions, Charles suffered not his partiality for his native country to detain him longer in the Netherlands; he pursued his route to Aix-la-Chapelle, the place appointed for his coronation; there, in presence of an assembly more numerous than had appeared on any former occasion, the crown of Charlemagne was placed on his head, with all the pompous solemnity which the Germans affect in their public ceremonies, and which they deem essential to the dignity of their empire.

From the imperial throne, Charles could not, without satisfaction, contemplate the vast dominions which were subjugated to his sway; Germany, by election, acknowledged him for her head; he reaped the succession of Castille, of Arragon, of Austria, and of the Netherlands; he inherited the conquest of Naples and Granada; even the bounds of the globe seemed to have been enlarged, that he might possess the unrisled treasures of the new world. The ardour for discovery had not expired with Columbus; the same spirit of adventure still inflamed the breasts of the Spaniards; and the year which beheld Charles invested with the imperial purple, witnessed the conquest of the rich and extensive kingdom of Mexico, by Fernando Cortes. Yet the Emperor was soon recalled to a sense of the disadvantages which accompanied these acquisitions; his territories lay distant, and disjointed; his authority over his subjects was far from absolute; strangers to each other's customs,
laws,

laws, and language, they were sometimes actuated by hatred, always by jealousy; and with reluctance seconded the designs of their mutual master.

To the embarrassments that arose from the discordant parts of which the empire of Charles was composed, were added those which spring from a difference in religious opinions. According to the doctrines of the Romish church all the good works of the saints, above those which were necessary for their own justification, together with the infinite merits of Christ, are entrusted to St. Peter, and his successors the Popes; who, by transferring a portion of them, might convey to any person the pardon of his sins, or deliver the soul of any one deceased out of purgatory; these grants, which obtained the name of *indulgences*, were first invented in the eleventh century by Urban the Second, as a recompense for the adventurers who had engaged in the conquest of the Holy Land; in process of time, they were imparted to those who contributed to any pious work enjoined by the Pope; and Leo the Tenth, under the pretence of completing the splendid fabric of the church of St. Peter, by the sale of them, provided a fund for the support of his magnificent spirit. But the indiscretion and indecent manner in which his agents promulgated them in Germany, could not but shock every man of sense and real piety, while the princes and nobles of that country were exasperated at beholding their vassals drained of their wealth to supply the demands of a profuse Pontiff. It was at this critical juncture, that Martin Luther, a native of Saxony, of vigorous understanding and undaunted disposition, arose to combat the fallacious promises, and to resist the oppressions of the see of Rome. Disgusted with the subtle and uninformative sciences of scholastic philosophy and theology, he had devoted himself with eagerness and assiduity to the study

study of the bible; he had beheld with concern the artifices of those who sold, and the simplicity of those who bought, indulgences; he found the scriptures, which he began to consider as the great standard of truth, afforded no countenance to a practice equally subversive of faith and morals. His warm and impetuous temper suffered him not long to conceal such important discoveries, or to continue a silent spectator of the delusion of his countrymen. He had been chosen to teach philosophy in the university of Wittemberg, and from the great church of that city he bitterly inveighed against the irregularities and vices of the monks who trafficked in salvation. He was secretly encouraged by his sovereign, the elector of Saxony, the wisest prince at that time in Germany, and who hoped that his invectives might give some check to the exactions of the holy see, which the secular princes had long, without success, been endeavouring to oppose.

His doctrines, recommended by truth and novelty, were eagerly embraced; and the rapid progress of them roused at length Leo from his schemes of policy and pleasure to the defence of the church. In compliance with the solicitations of the elector of Saxony, he dispensed with the appearance of Luther at Rome, and empowered his legate in Germany, Cardinal Cajetan, to hear and determine the cause. The latter, instead of listening to the arguments of Luther, insisted peremptorily on a recantation of all that he had advanced; and Luther, who had steadily refused to renounce opinions which he believed to be true, instead of submitting, according to a form of which there had been some examples, appealed to the Pope, ill informed at that time concerning his cause, when he should receive more full information with respect to it.

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However Leo might be enraged at this proceeding, the death of Maximilian served to suspend the thunders of the Vatican. The Roman pontiff considered himself more interested in the election of an Emperor, than in a theological controversy which he did not understand, and could not foresee the consequences of. He was conscious how warmly Frederic of Saxony espoused the patronage of Luther, and he was unwilling to offend a prince of such considerable influence in the electoral college. But no sooner was the imperial crown placed on the head of Charles, than the attention of the Pope was again directed towards Luther; and after various delays, a bull was fulminated against him, in which his writings were condemned, himself pronounced an heretic; and all secular princes were enjoined, under the penalty of being involved in his sentence of excommunication, to seize his person, that he might be punished as his crimes deserved.

Hitherto Luther was far from having entertained any intention of disclaiming the Papal authority; but being now persuaded that Leo had been guilty both of impiety and injustice against him, he boldly declared the Pope to be that man of sin, or antichrist, whose appearance is foretold in the New Testament; and he exhorted all Christian princes to shake off the ignominious yoke, and to assert the liberty of mankind. However daring such language might appear, many circumstances combined to prepare for it a favourable reception; the profligate morals and ungovernable ambition of the Popes Alexander the Sixth, and Julius the Second; the vices and licentious lives of the inferior clergy; the facility with which they obtained the pardon of their crimes; the enormous wealth of the church,

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and

and the gradual encroachments of the papal see, which had usurped the right of conferring benefices through Germany, all tended to lessen the veneration for, and excite the indignation of, the Germans, against the pretensions of the Vatican; thus prepossessed, they listened with avidity to the doctrines of Luther, and read the anathemas of Leo with more contempt than terror.

Though the progress of reform in the minds of the people had been considerable when Charles arrived in Germany, yet no secular prince had hitherto embraced the opinions of Luther, and no change had been introduced in the established form of worship. The first act of the Emperor's administration was to appoint a diet at Worms; and in his circular letters to the different princes, he informed them, that the object of it was to check the new and dangerous doctrines which threatened to disturb the peace of the empire, and to overturn the religion of their ancestors.

Such important subjects could not fail of producing a full assembly; but though the Emperor, desirous of securing Leo as an ally in the war which he expected with France, was willing to have treated Luther with severity, yet the diet refused to condemn him unheard. They required his personal appearance, and granted him a safe conduct for his security. He presented himself before them with equal decency and firmness; and maintained his opinions with a resolution neither to be shaken by threats nor entreaties; he was permitted to depart in safety; but a few days after he left the city, an edict was published, in the Emperor's name, and with the sanction of the diet, forbidding any prince to harbour or protect him, and requiring all to concur in seizing his person as soon as the term specified in his safe conduct was expired; the effects of it was, however, eluded by the address of
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the elector of Saxony; who conveyed Luther to, and concealed him in the castle of Wartburgh; and the attention of the Emperor was soon diverted from religious controversy to matters which appeared more interesting, and more worthy his immediate attention.

Charles had scarce embarked at Corun- A. D. 1520,
na, before the embers of Discontent, which 1522.
had been cherished in the principal cities of Spain, burst out into open flame. No sooner was it known that the Cortes assembled in Galicia had voted the Emperor a *free gift*, without obtaining the redress of any one grievance, than it excited universal indignation. The citizens of Toledo, who considered themselves as the peculiar guardians of Castilian freedom, took arms; with tumultuary violence attacked the citadel, and forced the governor to surrender; they established a popular form of government, composed of deputies from the several parishes in the city; they levied troops; and chose as their leader, Don Juan de Padilla, the eldest son of the commendator of Castille; a young man of daring and ambitious spirit, and whose liberality had endeared him to the populace.

The resentment of the citizens of Segovia hurried them into more criminal excesses; Tordefillas, one of their representatives in the late Cortes, had the imprudent boldness to endeavour to justify his conduct; but the fury of the multitude suffered him not long to proceed; he was seized, dragged through the streets, amidst a thousand curses and insults, and without being allowed even the short respite necessary to receive absolution, was hung with his head downwards on the common gibbet.

Burgos, Zamora, and several other cities, were agitated by the same spirit of resentment; and Adrian trembled in Valladolid at the rapid progress of insurrection. Two opinions divided the council; and

and while one party insisted on the necessity of employing force, the other remonstrated on the danger of driving the people to despair by ill-timed acts of rigour. The natural disposition of Adrian inclined to lenity; but his zeal to support his master's authority, and the influence of the Archbishop of Grenada, a prelate austere and haughty, precipitated him into measures to which he was otherwise averse. Ronquillo, one of the king's judges, stern and unforgiving, with a considerable body of troops, was ordered to repair to Segovia, and to proceed against the delinquents. His known temper assured the Segovians they had little to hope from his mercy; they took up arms with one consent, and shut the gates against him. Enraged at this insult, Ronquillo pronounced them rebels and outlaws, and seized the avenues which led to the town; but while he awaited the moment when famine should oblige them to surrender, he himself was attacked by Padilla who had marched with a considerable detachment from Toledo, and was compelled to retire, with the loss of his baggage and military chest.

Adrian had, however, advanced too far in compulsory measures to recede: on the news of the defeat of Ronquillo, he ordered Antonio de Fonseca, commander in chief in Castille, to assemble an army, and besiege Segovia in form. To fulfil this commission, Fonseca endeavoured to draw a train of artillery from Medina del Campo, where Ximenes had established his principal magazine of military stores; but the inhabitants refused to suffer those arms which had been prepared against the enemies of the kingdom, to be employed in the destruction of their countrymen. Fonseca, who possessed those high notions of obedience which are common to the military profession, exasperated at their resistance, assailed the town, and to divert the attention

tion of the citizens, commanded his soldiers to set fire to some of the houses; the flames spread rapidly; great part of the town was consumed; the warehouses, which were full of goods for the approaching mart of Segovia, were involved in the conflagration. Fonseca became the object of general detestation; even the citizens of Valladolid, whom hitherto the presence of the regent had restrained, caught the contagion; they burnt Fonseca's house to the ground; and with the same ardour as the other cities, levied soldiers, and elected new magistrates.

Adrian, nursed in peace and literature, possessed neither the courage nor the sagacity necessary at such a dangerous juncture. To appease the people, he disavowed the conduct of Fonseca; the exhausted state of the treasury compelled him to disband the greatest part of the troops: and the multitude, encouraged by his condescension, were at the same time delivered from the awe of military control.

Amidst the rage of the populace, the leaders of the commons nourished views worthy of their zeal, the redress of grievances, and the establishment of public liberty. The present moment was favourable to their pretensions; the great cities of Spain were numerous, and possessed of valuable immunities and privileges; the genius of their internal government was naturally democratical; the absence of their sovereign, the ill conduct of his ministers, the resentment of the people, the exhausted state of the treasury, the feeble condition of the army, and the government committed to a stranger, virtuous indeed, but of abilities unequal to the trust, all conspired to animate them to new claims. The first care of Padilla, and the other popular chiefs, was to establish a bond of union among the malecontents. A general convention of the different cities which had taken arms, was appointed to be held

held at Avila; and almost all that were entitled to have representatives in the Cortes, sent thither their deputies. They bound themselves by a solemn oath, to live and die in the service of their King, and in defence of the privileges of their order; and assuming the name of the holy *Junta*, or association, proceeded to deliberate concerning the state of the nation. As the nomination of a foreigner to be regent was considered a violation of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, they resolved to send a deputation of their members to Adrian, requiring him to abstain from the future exercise of a jurisdiction which they had pronounced illegal.

While they prepared to execute this resolution, their cause received no inconsiderable accession of strength and lustre from the successful enterprise of Padilla: after relieving Segovia, he marched suddenly to Tordesillas, where the unhappy Joanna had resided since the death of Philip; he was admitted by the inhabitants into the town; and presenting himself before the Queen, with that profound respect which she exacted from the few persons whom she suffered to approach her, he informed her of the miserable condition of her Castilian subjects, under the government of her son. As if awakened from a lethargy, Joanna expressed her astonishment at the intelligence; declared that their sufferings could not be imputed to her, since she had never heard of the death of her father; and added, "until I can provide a sufficient remedy, let it be your care to do what is necessary for the public welfare." The words were readily seized by Padilla, who, mistaking this lucid interval for a perfect return of reason, apprised the Junta of it, and prevailed on them to remove to Tordesillas. But though Joanna graciously received their address, she

she soon relapsed into her former melancholy, and never could be persuaded to sign any paper for the dispatch of business.

Though the Junta could not but feel, they yet endeavoured to conceal the disappointment; they still carried on their deliberations in the name of the Queen; and the intelligence of her supposed recovery was received by the people with a transport of joy. The commons availed themselves of the increase of power and reputation which they had thus acquired; and detached Padilla to Valladolid to bring away the seals of the kingdom, and the public archives. He was received by the citizens as the deliverer of his country; executed his commission with great exactness; and though he permitted Adrian to reside at Valladolid in the capacity of a private person, he was careful to strip him of all marks of authority.

Frequent accounts had been transmitted to Charles of these transactions; but though he beheld with concern the most valuable of his territories on the verge of a civil war, he could not return immediately to Spain, without endangering the imperial crown. Thus embarrassed, before he had recourse to force, he resolved to try the effect of indulgence and concessions. He issued circular orders to all the cities of Castille, exhorting them, with assurances of pardon, to lay down their arms. To those who continued faithful, or returned to their duty, he promised not to exact the subsidy granted in the late Cortes; and he engaged that no office should be conferred in future, but upon native Castilians; but at the same time he wrote to the nobles, to excite them to defend their own rights, and those of the Crown, against the exorbitant claims of the commons; and he appointed the High Admiral Don Fabrique Enriquez, and the High Constable of Castille, Don Inigo de Valesco,

two noblemen of great abilities and influence, to act as regents in conjunction with Adrian, if the obstinacy of the commons rendered it necessary, to vindicate the royal authority by arms.

But the Junta, relying on the unanimous concurrence of the cities of Spain, were far from being satisfied with the same redress as they had demanded before the departure of Charles; they now aimed at a more thorough reformation of political abuses; and the objects they aspired to were published, in a remonstrance drawn up with equal care and boldness. After stating the various calamities under which the nation groaned, and which had compelled them to assemble to provide for the constitution, they demanded that the king should return, and reside in his Spanish dominions; that he should not marry, but with consent of the Cortes; that on any necessary absence, he should not appoint a foreigner regent; that he should not introduce or suffer the naturalization of any stranger; and that those who were not natives of Castille, and possessed at present any public office, should immediately resign it; that neither free quarters should be granted to soldiers, nor to members of the royal household, for a longer time than six days; and that only when the court was on a journey. That all taxes should be reduced to the same state they were in at the death of Queen Isabella; that all alienations of the royal revenue since that Queen's death, should be resumed. That in all future Cortes, each city should send one representative of the clergy, one of the gentry, and one of the commons; each to be elected by his own order: that no member should receive office or pension from the king; and that the Cortes should be assembled once in three years, whether summoned by the king or not, to enforce the faithful execution of these articles, and deliberate on the state of the nation.

Such were the principal concessions which the commons endeavoured to extort from the Crown; and in addition to these, they demanded that all privileges which the nobles had at any time obtained, to the prejudice of the commons, should be revoked; and that they should not hereafter be nominated to the government of cities or towns; and that their possessions should be subject to all public taxes, in the same manner as those of the people in general. But the latter articles probably proved fatal to the hopes they had entertained of establishing the former. The grandees of Spain, who, instead of obstructing, had connived at their proceedings, while they confined their demands of redress to such grievances as had been occasioned by the king's want of experience, or the rapacity of his foreign ministers, were filled with indignation, when they saw the privileges of their own order invaded, and perceived the measures of the commons tended no less to break the power of the aristocracy, than that of the crown. Their resentment at the appointment of Adrian had been fortified by the nomination of the constable and admiral to act in conjunction with him; and as they chose rather to submit to their prince than the people, they determined to assemble their vassals in defence of the throne.

In the mean time, a new circumstance served to exasperate the Junta. The deputies they had appointed to present their remonstrance to the Emperor, were informed they could not proceed to Germany without endangering their lives; their return excited such indignation, as transported the party of the commons beyond the bounds of moderation; that a King of Castille should deny his subjects access into his presence, was represented as an act of tyranny unprecedented and intolerable. Many warmly insisted on depriving Charles, dur-

ing the life of his mother, of the regal titles and authority which had been too rashly conferred upon him, from a supposition of her incapacity for government; others proposed to supply her want of ability by marrying her to the heir of the Arragonese Kings of Naples; but all agreed they had remained too long inactive; and that it was necessary to exert themselves with vigour in opposing this fatal combination of the King and the nobility against their liberties.

Twenty thousand men ranged themselves under their standard; but it was not easy to determine to whom the chief command should be assigned; the inclinations of the people and the soldiers were united in favour of Padilla; but Don Pedro de Giron, the eldest son of the Count of Uruena, who had lately joined the commons, out of private resentment to the Emperor, was preferred by the Junta, on account of his illustrious birth; it soon appeared that he possessed neither experience nor abilities equal to the important trust; at Rioneco the regents had drawn together a considerable body of veteran troops from Navarre; their cavalry was composed chiefly of gentlemen, accustomed to the military life, and animated with the martial spirit peculiar to their order in that age; and they were commanded by the Count de Haro, the constable's eldest son, an officer of approved merit; yet Giron, confiding in his superior numbers, advanced to Rioseco, seized the avenues, and attempted to cut off the provisions of the royalists; disappointed in this design, by a considerable convoy which passed safe through his posts, he suddenly turned aside to Villapenda, where the enemy had established their principal magazines. This motion left Tordesillas open to the Count de Haro, who failed not to profit of the error of his adversary: marching rapidly to that

that town, he surpris'd and cut to pieces the regiment of priests, who had been left to guard it; made himself master of the person of the Queen, and of several members of the Junta; and recovered the great seal, with the other insignia of government.

The success of the enterprise elated as much the party of the regents, as it depressed that of the Commons; to the embarrassments which the latter found from the loss of the Queen's name, was added their suspicion of the conduct of Giron; they accused him of having betrayed Tordeillas; and readily permitted him to resign the command of the army, and to retire to one of his castles.

The appointment of Padilla to succeed him, restored the spirits of the soldiers; new levies daily crowded to his standard; and the party of the Junta again raised its head. The bold counsels of Donna Maria, the wife of Padilla, relieved them from the distress which the want of money had occasioned; superior to superstitious fears, she proposed to seize the rich ornaments in the cathedral of Toledo; to avoid the imputation of sacrilege, she marched with her retinue to the church in solemn procession; implored the pardon of the saints whose shrines she prepared to violate; and by this artifice, diverted the people from considering too minutely the action. The regents, who laboured under the same wants, but dared not have recourse to the same expedients, with difficulty raised a scanty supply from the Queen's jewels, and the plate of the nobility, and by negotiating a small loan in Portugal.

After an ineffectual attempt to compromise by treaty their various pretensions, both armies took the field: that of the commons, under Padilla, stormed Torrelobaton, a place of considerable strength and importance; and had they marched
to

to Tordefillas, might probably have surprised the royalists, before their troops were united; but the Junta imprudently listened again to overtures of peace; many of the followers of Padilla, disgusted with inaction, or desirous of securing the booty they had acquired, retired from his camp; and when hostilities were resumed, and the royalists advanced to recover Torrelobaton, disheartened by the desertion of his soldiers, Padilla endeavoured to retreat to Toro; but before he could reach the walls of that city, the appearance of the Count de Haro, at the head of his cavalry, compelled him to stop. The troops of the Junta were fatigued and dismayed: the ground on which they had halted was deep and miry; they were vanquished by their own fears; and on the first charge, they fled in the utmost confusion. After vainly attempting to rally them, Padilla, accompanied by his principal officers, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, was wounded, dismounted, and taken prisoner. The resentment of his enemies did not long suffer him to linger in confinement; without even the formality of a trial, he was instantly led to execution; with Don John Bravo, the commander of the Segovians. He viewed the approach of death with calm but undaunted fortitude; and when his fellow sufferer expressed some indignation at hearing himself proclaimed a traitor, he checked him, by observing, "that yesterday was the time to have displayed the spirit of gentlemen, this day to die with the meekness of Christians." In his last letter to his wife, written a few minutes before he suffered, he displayed a spirit superior to his fate; in that to his native city of Toledo, he exulted in the cause for which he was doomed to die; without endeavouring to procrastinate, he submitted quietly to the stroke of the executioner; and though the Spanish writers, attached to regal government, have

have endeavoured to blacken his character, yet his generous spirit has been elegantly delineated, and the purity of his intentions amply vindicated, by the unprejudiced pen of a foreign historian.

The vengeance of the regents and the nobles was satisfied with the blood of the chiefs; the multitude were dismissed with contempt; the cities of Castille returned to their obedience; and the strength of the Junta was entirely dissolved. The city of Toledo alone, worthy the birth and last correspondence of Padilla, and animated by the presence of his widow Maria, continued to brave the royal authority. Their admiration for her courage and abilities, their sympathy for her misfortunes, and their veneration for the memory of her husband, secured to her long the same ascendancy over the minds of the citizens as he himself had possessed; to maintain it, she employed every artifice which her fertile genius suggested. She ordered crucifixes to be used by her troops instead of colours, as if they had been at war with infidels, and the enemies of their religion; she marched through the streets of Toledo, with her infant son, clad in deep mourning, seated on a mule, with a standard before him, representing the manner of his father's execution. For six months, by these expedients, she kept alive the passions of the citizens, defended the town with vigour, and routed in repeated sallies the royalists; and when her influence over the populace was undermined by the hostile arts of the clergy, who never forgave the manner in which she had despoiled the cathedral, she retired to the citadel; which with amazing fortitude she maintained for four months longer; and at last made her escape in disguise, and fled to her relations in Portugal.

Though the spirit of revolt which had agitated Castille, was diffused through Arragon, the prudent conduct

conduct of Don John de Lanusa prevented it from breaking forth into open insurrection. But the kingdom of Valencia was rent by intestine commotions the most violent; the association which had been formed under the name of the Germanada, availed themselves of the sanction which Charles had rashly granted them, and refused to lay down their arms. Their resentment was rather directed against the nobles than the crown; they drove the former out of their cities, plundered their houses, wasted their lands, and assaulted their castles. Their councils, as well as troops, were conducted by low mechanics, who acquired the confidence of an enraged multitude, chiefly by the fierceness of their zeal, and the extravagance of their proceedings; they however carried on the war with more perseverance than could have been expected from so tumultuous a body, and such ignorant leaders. But when the defeat of Padilla enabled the regents of Castille to reinforce the Count de Melito, who commanded the troops which the Valencian barons had raised among their vassals, the Germanada were incapable of resisting the united strength of the crown and nobles, their forces were defeated; their leaders put to death; the ancient government of Valencia was re-established; and the tempest which had so long shaken Spain, sunk again into a calm.

CHAPTER XIII.

Hostilities between Francis and Charles—Invasion of Navarre—Alliance between the Pope and Emperor—Death of Chievres—Conduct of Robert de la Mark—The Emperor invades France—Is repulsed from Mezieres—War in Italy—Death of Leo—Election of Adrian—Defeat of Lautrec at Bicocca—Henry attacks France—Charles lands in Spain—His Clemency and Magnanimity—He gains the Affections of the Spaniards—Intrigue of Bourbon—His treaty with the Emperor—Death of Adrian, and Election of Clement—The Spaniards and Germans are repulsed in Guienne and Burgundy—Fontarabia is recovered by the former—Defeat of Bonnivet, and Death of Bayard—Invasion of Provence—Francis enters the Milanese—Lays siege to Pavia—Is defeated and taken Prisoner—Conduct of Charles—Harsh Treatment of Francis—Intrigues of Pesevara and Morone—Charles seizes Milan—He promises the Investiture of it to Bourbon—Negociation with Francis—Treaty of Madrid—Francis marries the Emperor's Sister—He is restored to liberty,

A. D. 1521. **I**T was not the calamities of civil war alone that Spain was doomed to experience; and the attention of the regent was soon attracted by the invasion of a foreign enemy. When Francis had entered into a competition with Charles for the imperial crown, with the vivacity natural to him, he had declared, "that they were both
" suitors

“ suitors to the same mistress; the most fortunate
 “ would carry her; but the other must remain
 “ contented.” Yet the success of his rival had
 sunk deep in his mind; and there wanted not other
 causes of discord between himself and the Emper-
 or; the former was bound by honour, as well as
 interest, to restore the family of Albret to the
 throne of Navarre; and he had pretensions to Na-
 ples, of which Ferdinand had deprived his prede-
 cessor by a most unwarrantable breach of faith.
 The latter might reclaim the Dutchy of Milan, as
 a fief of the empire; and he considered Burgundy
 as the patrimonial domain of his ancestors, which
 had been wrested from them by the injustice of
 Louis the Eleventh.

When the sources of hostility were so many and
 various, peace could not be of long continuance;
 and the factions which raged through Spain en-
 couraged Francis first to take up arms. In the name
 of Henry d'Albret, a considerable body of troops,
 under Andrew de Foix, invaded Navarre, possessed
 themselves of Pampeluna, and invested Lagrogno,
 a small town of Castille, situated on the banks of
 the Ebro. The hostile display of the banners of
 France awakened the pride of the Castilian nobles,
 who had listened with indifference to the progress
 of the enemy in Navarre. Both parties exerted
 themselves with emulation in defence of their coun-
 try; a numerous army was rapidly assembled; the
 French general was compelled to retire from the
 walls of Lagrogno; in an open battle he was
 defeated, and taken prisoner; and Navarre was
 again reduced to acknowledge the authority of
 Spain.

The invasion of Navarre, and the intrigues
 which Francis had carried on with Robert de la
 Mark, Lord of Bouillon, a small but independent
 territory, between Luxembourg and Champagne,
 determined

determined Charles to engage in open war; without consulting Chievres, he had entered into an alliance with Leo; the chief articles of which were, that the Pope and Emperor should join to expel the French out of the Milanese, the possession of which should be granted to Francis Sforza, a son of Ludovico the Moor; that Parma and Placentia, which had been wrested from, should be restored to, the church; and that the Roman pontiff should be supported in his projected conquest of Ferrara. The progress of this treaty had been carefully concealed from Chievres, whose aversion to a war with France, might have prompted him to have retarded or defeated it; but no sooner was it signed and imparted to him, than he was assured he had lost that ascendancy which he had so long maintained over the mind of his royal pupil. His chagrin on this account, and the calamities he foreboded to his countrymen from hostilities with the French, are said to have shortened his days; his death delivered the Emperor from a minister who restrained him in a manner unworthy of his rank and years; and left him to exercise, without controul, the active powers of his mind.

With troops levied in France, by the connivance of his new ally, Robert de la Mark had presumed to enter the Dutchy of Luxembourg, to ravage the open country, and to lay siege to Vinton. Charles was not slow in chastising the insult; at the head of twenty thousand men he overwhelmed the territories of Robert; reduced him to implore his mercy; and after representing to Henry the Eighth of England that Francis had been the first aggressor, he surprised Mousson, and commanded his general, the Count of Nassau, to invest Mezieres. That city, the possession of which would have opened a road into the heart of Burgundy, was defended

defended by the Chevalier Bayard, distinguished among his contemporaries, as *the knight, without fear and without reproach*; and though neither the works nor garrison of Mezieres were strong, such were the resources and gallantry of Bayard, that the imperialists were compelled to abandon the siege with considerable loss.

Mousson was soon retaken by the French: and the presence of Francis on the banks of the Scheld, at the head of a superior army, might have been fatal to the future grandeur of Charles, had the former listened to the counsels of the constable Bourbon; but through an excess of caution, he missed the opportunity which he could never afterwards retrieve, of personally engaging his rival; and the Emperor, who was sensible of the danger of his position, availed himself of a thick fog, and rapidly retired beneath the cannon of Mons.

The disgrace of this retreat he soon effaced by the reduction of Tournay; but a more material advantage was, his prevailing on the King of England to declare on his side. An offensive treaty was signed between the Emperor and Henry, at Bruges; and while the former engaged to invade the southern provinces, the latter promised to attack Picardy, and flattered himself the hour was come when he should restore the ascendancy of the English in France.

Mean time the war raged in Italy; Lautrec, to whom the French forces in Milan were committed, acted with vigilance and address against the joint troops of the Pope and Emperor; and it is probable the allies would have been obliged to have retired with disgrace, had not the money appropriated for the support of their adversaries been intercepted by the rapacity of the Countess of Angoulême, the mother of Francis; disappointed of their pay, twelve thousand Swiss quitted the camp
of

of Lautrec; that officer in vain endeavoured, with the remnant of his army, to defend the passage of the Adda; he was forced to retire towards the Venetian territories, before Colonna and Pescara, the papal and imperial generals; the city of Milan was surprised by the latter: Parma and Placentia were reduced by the former, and it was only from the castle of Milan, the town of Crémone, and a few inconsiderable forts, that the banners of France were still displayed.

Leo received the accounts of this rapid success with such transports of joy, as brought on a fever, and occasioned his death. This unexpected event suspended the operations of the confederacy; the Swiss were recalled by their cantons; the mercenaries disbanded for want of pay; and only the Spaniards, and a few Germans, remained in the Milanese; but Lautrec himself, equally destitute of men and money, was unable to improve the favourable opportunity.

A. D. 1522. Though the Emperor had promised to support the pretensions of Wolsey to the pontificate, yet his name was scarcely mentioned; and the intrigues of the Conclave were terminated by the election of Adrian, who at that time governed Castille, had been formerly the tutor of Charles, and was entirely devoted to his interest. Such a choice gave new vigour to the allies; the war was again resumed in the Milanese; but Lautrec had received a reinforcement of ten thousand Swiss, and the confederates had been reduced to retreat before him, and to fortify themselves in the strong port of Bicocca. While the generals expected every hour to be deserted by their followers, whose murmurs for want of pay were loud and universal, they were extricated from their embarrassment by the temerity of the enemy. The Swiss, on the side of the French, had felt the same distress, and bore

it with less patience; it was in vain that Lautrec represented the camp of the allies strong by nature, and rendered almost inaccessible by art; they were deaf to reason, and demanded to be led to action. They rushed impetuously on the intrenchments,—but they were received with cool and steady courage; they were broken by a constant discharge of artillery; and after an ineffectual display of valour, and the loss of their best officers, and bravest soldiers, they abandoned the hopeless attempt. The survivors next day pointed their march towards their native country; the French sought shelter in their own territories; except the citadel of Cremona, the whole Milanese submitted to the authority of Francis Sforza; and Colonna, rendered enterprising by success, surprised the gates of Genoa; and established in that city the authority of the Emperor.

Deserted in Italy, Francis had renewed the war on the side of Spain; Navarre was again invaded in the name of Henry d'Albret; and Bonnivet, Admiral of France, possessed himself of Fontarabia, a strong town of Biscay, situated on a peninsula of the sea, and of the river Bidassoa; the loss of Fontarabia probably confirmed the intention of Charles to revisit his Spanish dominions; he had been absent from these above two years; and during that period, Spain had been almost incessantly afflicted by foreign war or civil commotion. Yet, however necessary he deemed his presence in Castille, policy required him in his voyage to visit his ally the King of England: six weeks he staid at London; received the order of the garter; confirmed his alliance with Henry; and inflamed again the ambition of Wolsey with the hopes of the pontificate. Before his departure he had the satisfaction of beholding the English fleet sail, under the command of the Earl of Surrey, to ravage the coast
of

of Normandy; and after receiving this proof of the sincerity of his confederate, he himself pursued his voyage and landed about the middle of June in Spain.

Immediately on his arrival, Adrian set out to take possession of the Apostolic chair; and the Emperor directed his attention to heal the wounds which the jarring factions had inflicted on his Spanish dominions. By an act of clemency, no less prudent than generous, he delivered his subjects from the apprehensions which his presence had excited; after a rebellion so general, scarce twenty persons had been capitally punished; though strongly solicited by his council, Charles refused to shed any more blood by the hands of the executioner; fourscore persons alone were excepted in the pardon he published; even these seem to have been named rather to intimidate others, than from any inclination to seize them; for when an officious courtier offered to inform him of the retreat of one of the most considerable, he replied, with a smile, "You had better let him know I am here, than tell me where he is." This appearance of magnanimity, the marks of respect he paid to his mother, with his address in assuming the Castilian manners and language, established his ascendancy over the Spaniards, to a degree which scarce any of their native monarchs had attained; and brought them to support all his enterprises with zeal and valour.

The emperor was not slow in availing
A. D. 1523. himself of their ardour; he obtained from the states of Castille a free gift, amounting to four hundred thousand ducats, and though baffled in his attempt to recover Fontarabia, was enabled to detach a considerable body of Spanish troops to reinforce the Marquis of Pescara in Italy. But he principally depended on the intrigues that he had entered

entered into with Charles Duke of Bourbon, and Constable of France. That Nobleman, from his birth, fortune and office, might justly be considered as the most powerful subject in that kingdom. His eminent services in the battle of Marignano; his thirst of glory, and skill in martial exercises, ought naturally to have recommended him to the favour of a monarch renowned for similar qualities. But unhappily, Louisa, the king's mother, had contracted a violent aversion to the House of Bourbon, and had communicated her prejudices to her son. The Duke had been injuriously removed from the government of Milan; the payment of his pensions had been suspended: his councils on the banks of the Scheld had been contumeliously rejected; and a public affront had been offered to him, in the presence of the whole army, by depriving him of the command of the Vanguard. These repeated indignities had exhausted his patience; and he had already entered into a mysterious correspondence with the Emperor, when a new and more severe injury inflamed his thirst of revenge, and for ever estranged his allegiance from Francis.

The death of his consort had occasioned a quick change in the passions of Louisa, who, at the age of forty-six was still sensible of amorous emotions; but Bourbon rejected her advances with contempt; and his disdain converted her affection again into implacable hatred. In her name, she commenced a lawsuit against him for the estates which he held in right of his deceased wife; and by a sentence, destitute even of the appearance of equity, he was despoiled of the greatest part of his fortune.

Exasperated by such unremitting persecution, he continued his intrigues with the court of Madrid with redoubled ardour; while Charles and Henry, on their side, spared no allurements to gain him. The former offered in marriage his sister Eleanor,

nor, the widow of the King of Portugal; he was considered as a principal in the treaty of the two monarchs; and on the conquest of France, which they had projected, the counties of Provence and Dauphiné were assigned to him, with the title of King. The Emperor engaged to enter France by the Pyrenees; Henry, supported by the Flemings, was to invade Picardy; while Bourbon was to receive a body of Germans into Burgundy, and was to act with his adherents in the heart of the kingdom.

To efface the disasters of the last campaign, Francis had early assembled a numerous army; roused by the approach of danger, he proposed to disconcert the designs of his enemies, by marching in person into the Milanese; and the confederates impatiently awaited until he had crossed the Alps with the only force capable of defending his dominions, to start up in arms. But when his vanguard had already reached Lyons, the indiscretion of two of the conspirators awakened him to his peril; he immediately sent orders to arrest Bourbon, who, apprised of his intentions, suddenly crossed the Rhone in disguise; eluded the parties sent out to intercept him; and, after infinite hazard and fatigue, reached Italy in safety.

Neither the detection of the conspiracy of Bourbon, nor the death of Adrian, which happened at this critical juncture, could induce Charles to renounce his prospect of invading France. The Cardinal de Medici was, by the influence of the Imperial faction, raised to the papal chair, under the title of Clement the Fifth; but his election convinced Wolsey of the insincerity of the Emperor's promises; and though he publicly affected to approve the choice, and to forward with zeal the preparations against France, his haughty mind was

deeply wounded by the disappointment; and he waited only a proper opportunity to render Charles sensible of his resentment.

In the mean time, the confederates commenced their operations; the English marched into Picardy, and penetrated within eleven leagues of Paris; but on the banks of the Oyse their career was checked by the gallantry of the Duke of Vendosme; they were continually harassed by the active vigilance of the Marechal le Tremouille; and they were at length driven back with disgrace to the gates of Calais.

To favour their progress, the Spaniards had entered Guienne, and the Germans Burgundy; but the former were repulsed by the Marshal Lautrec, and the latter by the Duke of Guise; yet it was in the Milanese that Charles most severely proved the vanity of his expectations. Behind the Tesino, Colonna, who commanded the army of the allies, observed the motions, and endeavoured to resist the passage of the superior forces of the French; but his caution was fruitless; the enemy seized a ford that had been neglected: and the confederates retired in confusion to Milan. Conscious of their own weakness, they had even prepared to abandon that capital; but Bonnivet, who owed his appointment to his agreeable manners, insinuating address, and known enmity to Bourbon, rather than to his abilities as a general, delayed to advance for several days, and lost the opportunity with which his good fortune had presented him. The citizens recovered from their consternation; the troops were indefatigable in repairing the fortifications; when the French appeared, Milan was in a condition to stand a siege; and Bonnivet, after some feeble attempts on the town, was obliged, by the inclemency of the season, to retire into winter quarters.

The

The preservation, however, of that capital, could not balance the numerous disappointments Charles had sustained; instead of acquiring fresh, he found himself unable to defend his former conquests. The formidable conspiracy on which he had depended, had been discovered and disconcerted; the author of it had been driven into exile; the plans of the confederates had every where proved abortive; they had been repulsed in three separate attempts to invade France; and half the Milanese had been wrested from them. Yet instead of turning their thoughts to peace, ambition and emulation prompted them to new enterprises; Charles pursued his designs with unabated ardour; the wealth of Mexico, which flowed into his harbours, was devoted to raise new levies, and to purchase new allies; and his preparations for the ensuing campaign was such as promised the most decisive success.

He opened it with the siege of Fontarabia: during two successive years, the banners of France, from the ramparts of that city, had reproached the spirit of the Castilians; they considered their honour as wounded, by having twice retired unsuccessful from the ramparts; yet it was probable they would have encountered the same disgrace a third time, had the fortitude of the governor been equal to the number of the garrison, and the strength of the works. But Franget, who was intrusted with the defence of it, basely yielded to his fears, and surrendered it while the magazines were yet full, and the walls entire. Part of the victorious army was immediately detached to join the combined forces which had been assembled for the recovery of the Milanese. These were nominally commanded, since the death of Colonna, by Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, though the chief direction in military operations was committed

ted to Bourbon, and the Marquis of Pescara; the former inspired by his resentment with new activity and invention; and the latter confessedly the most able of the Imperial generals. They resolved, by an early and vigorous effort, to dispossess the French of that part of the Milanese which lies beyond the Tesino; the forces of Bonnivert, weakened by a pestilential disorder, were unable to contend with the superior numbers of the enemy; and he himself sunk beneath the genius of Bourbon and Pescara. Those celebrated leaders compelled him to abandon his strong camp at Biagrassia, and pressed on his rear with incessant diligence; through the valley of Aost he attempted to retreat into France; in the passage of the river Segria, while he exerted himself with conspicuous valour, he received a wound in his arm, which obliged him to quit the field; he committed the important charge, which he reluctantly deserted, to the Chevalier Bayard; that officer animated the cavalry by his example and his presence to sustain the whole shock of the enemy's troops, while the infantry securely crossed the river. But in this service Bayard received a wound, which he immediately perceived to be mortal. Incapable any longer of remaining on horseback, he was placed on the ground, with his face towards the enemy; and with his eyes fixed on the guard of his sword, which he held up instead of a cross, he addressed his prayers to God. In this posture, which became him both as a soldier and a Christian, he was found by Bourbon, who led the vanguard of the confederates, and who expressed his regret and pity at the sight. "Pity not me," replied the high-spirited Chevalier, "I die, as a man of honour ought, in the discharge of my duty; they, indeed, are objects of pity, who fight against their king, their country, and their oath." By the command of the Marquis

quis of Pescara, a tent was pitched over him, and proper persons appointed to attend him; but their care was vain; and equally regretted by his countrymen and his foes, he expired, as his ancestors for several generations had done, in the field of battle.

Though Bonnavet, with his shattered forces, escaped the pursuit of the victors, they swept away in their career what Francis possessed in Italy, and re-established Sforza in his paternal dominions. Intoxicated by his success, and instigated by Bourbon, Charles resumed his former design of invading France; Provence was chosen for the seat of war; and Bourbon, with eighteen thousand men, crossed the Alps without opposition; but his plan of penetrating into the interior provinces, and of effecting near Lyons a junction with his remaining adherents, was over-ruled by the authority of Charles, who, desirous of possessing a post which would at all times secure his entrance into France, directed him to make the reduction of Marseilles his chief object. That city was obstinately defended by a veteran garrison; the King of France himself advanced with a superior army to the relief of it; and Bourbon, after having consumed forty days in the vain enterprise, retired with precipitation towards Italy.

He was soon followed by Francis, who, naturally sanguine and impetuous, instead of being satisfied with having delivered his subjects from a formidable invasion, aspired to the re-conquest of the Milanese. His love of fame was seconded by a less noble passion; and Bonnavet is supposed to have inflamed the desires of his sovereign, by the description of a beautiful lady at Milan. At the head of one of the most powerful and best-appointed armies France had ever brought into the field, against the dissuasions of his generals, and the remonstrances

monstrances of his mother, he crossed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and advanced with a diligence which forty thousand men seemed, hardly capable of. Bourbon himself scarce outstripped him with his flying forces; accompanied by Pescara, he had entered Milan but a few hours before he descried the foremost columns of the French; they found that city so full of consternation and disorder, that the defence of it could not be undertaken with any probability of success; and having thrown a garrison into the citadel, they retired through one gate, while the enemy were admitted at another.

At Lodi on the Adda, the Imperialists breathed from the fatigue and terror of pursuit; had Francis immediately attacked them there, that day might have extinguished the dominion of Charles in Italy; but in compliance with the opinion of Bonnivet, he turned aside to besiege Pavia on the Tesino, a place strong in its fortifications, and garrisoned by six thousand veterans, under the command of Antonio de Leyva, an officer not less distinguished for his patient courage, than his enterprising spirit.

The interval which was thus allowed
A. D. 1525. them, was diligently improved by the imperial generals: though deserted by the fickle Clement, who courted the prosperity of Francis, and without hopes of supply from the Emperor, they found resources from that fertile genius which ever shines most conspicuous amidst distress. Lannoy procured a small loan, by mortgaging the revenues of Naples; Pescara, who was adored by the Spanish troops, readily prevailed on those gallant men to shew how superior their sentiments were to those of mercenary soldiers, by serving without any immediate demand for pay; and Bourbon, after having raised a considerable sum, by pawning his jewels, set out for Germany, where his influence was
great,

great, that by his presence he might hasten the levies for the imperial service.

Three months had, however, reduced the garrison of Pavia to the last extremity; their ammunition and provisions began to fail: the mercenaries of whom it was chiefly composed, threatened to deliver up the town into the enemy's hands, and could hardly be restrained by Leyva's address and authority, when twelve thousand Germans, whom the zeal and activity of Bourbon had taught to move with unusual rapidity, entered Lombardy, and joined the camp at Lodi; but the imperial leaders, far from having the funds for the support of so powerful an army, were scarce able to defray the charges of conducting their artillery, their ammunition, and provisions; by magnificent promises they, however, prevailed on the troops to take the field without pay; and the soldiers, sensible that by retiring, they should forfeit the arrears due to them, and impatient for spoil, demanded, with fierce clamours, to be led to battle.

Without suffering their ardour to cool, the generals immediately advanced to Pavia; on the intelligence of their approach, Francis called a council of war; his most experienced officers advised him to decline a battle, to retire to some strong post, and to wait till the necessities of the Imperialists should oblige them to disband their army, when he might take possession of the Milanese, without danger or bloodshed. But the rash counsels of Bonnivet were more acceptable to the daring spirit of his sovereign; he represented the disgrace of abandoning a siege which he had so long prosecuted; and Francis, whose notions of honour impelled him to measures the most romantic, determined to await the enemy before the walls of Pavia.

Eager as were the imperial generals for the attack, they found the French so strongly intrenched, that

that it was some time before they ventured to give the signal for action ; but the necessities of the besieged, and the murmurs of their own soldiers, obliged them to put every thing to hazard. Yet in the first moments they were incapable of resisting the efforts of the French valour, inflamed by the example of a gallant monarch, and seconded by a generous nobility ; even their firmest battalions began to give way ; but the fortune of the day was soon changed ; the Swiss, in the service of France, unmindful of the reputation of their country for fidelity and martial glory, abandoned their post in a cowardly manner ; part of the left wing, under the command of the Duke of Alencon, basely deserted their sovereign : the French cavalry was broken by the Imperial horse ; the route became general ; and resistance ceased almost in every part but where the king fought in person ; wounded in several places, and thrown from his horse, he still defended himself with the most heroic courage ; and six of his adversaries perished by his arm.—Though solicited to surrender to Bourbon, he rejected with indignation an action which would have afforded such matter of triumph to his rebellious subjects ; at length, exhausted with fatigue, he delivered up his sword to Lannoy, who received it with respect, and presented to him his own.

The victory of the Imperialists was indeed complete ; ten thousand of their foes were extended lifeless on the bloody field ; among these were the most illustrious nobility of France, and Bonnivert himself, whose fatal counsels had precipitated the national calamity ; his haughty mind scorned to survive the public disaster ; and rushing into the thickest ranks of the enemy, he fell, covered with honourable wounds. On the first intelligence of the event, the feeble garrison of Milan retired by a different route, without being pursued ; and in a fortnight

night after the battle, the French were entirely expelled from Italy.

Yet the victors themselves were not without disquietude; solicitous to prevent his royal prisoner from escaping, and alarmed lest his own troops might seize his person, and detain it as the best security for the payment of their arrears, Lannoy, the day after the battle, had conducted Francis to the strong castle of Pizzichitoni, near Crémone, and committed him to the custody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, general of the Spanish infantry, an officer of great bravery and strict honour; but remarkable for that severe and scrupulous vigilance which such a trust required.

His next care was to convey to his sovereign an early account of the victory of Pavia; as the most certain method, at that late season of the year, was by land, and through the French territories, he obtained from Francis a pass-port for the officer who was charged with the dispatches. At Madrid Charles received the intelligence of his signal and unexpected success, with the appearance of the most perfect composure and moderation; without uttering one word expressive of exultation, he retired to his chapel, to offer up his thanksgivings; and on his return, when congratulated by the grandees of Spain, and foreign ministers, he lamented the situation of the captive king as a striking example of the reverse of fortune; and seemed to take a pleasure in the advantage he had gained, only as it would prove the occasion of restoring peace to Christendom.

Yet beneath this modest deportment, and forbearing language, he nourished projects the most extensive; ambition, not generosity, was the ruling passion of his mind; and the victory of Pavia opened to him a boundless prospect. But at the very moment that he aspired to the most splendid triumphs

triumphs, and indulged the hopes of the most rapid conquests, the limited state of his revenues, and the universal jealousy of his neighbours, exposed him to embarrassments scarce inferior to those of the prince he held prisoner.

The defeat of Pavia had indeed filled France with consternation; the first news of it had been transmitted by the King himself to his mother, in a letter which contained these words: "Madam, all is lost, except our honour." In the persecution of Bourbon, the passions of Louisa had endangered the kingdom; but her abilities were exerted to save it. In this trying hour, her magnanimity never deserted her; and instead of giving herself up to the lamentations of a woman, she discovered all the foresight of a consummate politician. She assembled the nobles at Lyons, and animated them by her example and language; she collected the remains of the army that had served in Italy, and enabled it again to take the field; she levied new troops, and raised extraordinary sums to defray the expence of them; and she laboured incessantly to conciliate the friendship, and to obtain the protection, of the King of England.

Henry beheld with concern the balance of power which he had affected to maintain, destroyed by the disastrous field of Pavia; and his minister Wolsey remembered with indignation the fallacious promises of the papacy, with which the Emperor had deluded him; he painted to his sovereign, who had listened, with a mixture of admiration and pity, to the gallantry of the unfortunate Francis, the danger which menaced Europe, from the rising greatness of the ambitious Charles; influenced by the powerful motives of policy and generosity, Henry secretly assured Louisa of his support, and compelled her to promise that she would not dismember the kingdom, even to procure her son's liberty; but to the Emperor

peror he held a different language; he reminded him that the hour was now come for extinguishing the monarchy of France; he offered to invade Guienne with a powerful army; and he demanded that Francis should be delivered to him, in consequence of his claim to the crown of France, and an article of the treaty of Bruges, by which each party was bound to surrender all usurpers to him whose rights they had invaded. These extravagant proposals were received by the emperor with the coldness that was expected; and his rejecting them, afforded the King of England soon after a decent pretence for withdrawing from his alliance.

Though Clement, naturally penetrating, equally discerned, with Henry, the danger which impended over the other European states, from the ambition of the Emperor, he wanted steadiness to oppose the torrent. Intimidated by the threats, or allured by the promises of Lannoy, he relinquished his confederacy with France, and by a separate treaty bound himself to advance a considerable sum to Charles, in return for certain emoluments which he was to receive from him. The money was instantly paid: but the Emperor refused to ratify the treaty; and the transaction only served to expose the Pope to infamy and ridicule in the eyes of his former confederates.

The supply, however, came very seasonably into the hands of Lannoy; the German troops, which had defended Pavia with such meritorious courage and perseverance, had grown insolent in the hour of victory, and seized the town, as the security for the payment of their arrears. Lannoy appeased them by the distribution of the money he had exacted from the Pope; but as he still apprehended they might make themselves masters of the person of Francis, he soon after dismissed all the Germans and Italians in the imperial service; and thus acknowledged

knowledge of the weakness of his sovereign, who, while he was suspected of aiming at universal monarchy, was incapable of keeping on foot an army which exceeded not twenty-four thousand men.

It was probably this low state of his finances that prevented the Emperor from making one great effort to penetrate into France with all the forces of Spain and the Low Countries, and reduced him to adopt the arts of intrigue and negotiation. He ordered the Count de Rouex to visit his royal captive, and to propose the following conditions as the price of his liberty; that he should restore Burgundy to the Emperor, from whose ancestors it had been wrested; that he should surrender Provence and Dauphiné to be erected into a kingdom for Bourbon; that he should satisfy the claims of the King of England; and finally, should renounce all pretensions to any territory in Italy. When Francis heard these rigorous proposals, he was so transported with indignation, that, drawing his dagger hastily, he exclaimed, "It is better that a king should die thus." Alarcon, alarmed at his vehemence, caught his hand; but though he soon recovered greater composure, he still declared, in the most solemn manner, that he would rather remain a prisoner through life, than purchase liberty by such ignominious concessions.

That generosity which he found in his own bosom, he could not doubt but his rival possessed; he flattered himself that the conditions which had been proposed by Rouex flowed from the rigid policy of the Spanish council; and that in a personal interview with Charles he should easily adjust the terms of his deliverance. He was confirmed in these sentiments by Lannoy, desirous of conveying his captive safe into Spain; and so eager was Francis on the scheme, that he furnished the gallees necessary for the voyage, and commanded his Ad-
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miral Doria to suffer them to pass without opposition; on pretence of transporting him by sea to Naples, Lannoy conducted his prisoner to Genoa, and having deceived Bourbon and Pescara by this artifice, he set sail with him for Spain, and landed at Barcelona; thence Francis was conveyed to Madrid, and lodged in the alcazar, or castle, under the eye of the vigilant Alarcon.

While the King of France, from the severity of his confinement, seemed to be sensible that he had relied without foundation on his rival's generosity, Charles himself began to perceive the danger to which his own prosperity was exposed. Henry had openly avowed his alliance with Louisa; and to the concern which the defection of so powerful a confederate occasioned, was added the intimation of an intrigue in Italy, which threatened him with consequences still more fatal.

The manner in which Lannoy had conveyed Francis from Italy, had equally enraged Bourbon and Pescara; the former had followed to prefer his complaints; the latter, though chained down to Milan by his military command, had vented his indignation in every company, and had openly accused the ingratitude of his sovereign. His language of discontent had early reached the ears of Jerome Moroné, Vice Chancellor of Milan, a man whose genius for intrigue and faction distinguished him in an age and country where violent factions, and frequent revolutions, afforded scope to such talents. In common with the Italian politicians, Moroné was inflamed with the darling object of delivering Italy from the yoke of foreigners.—With that view, in the commencement of the war, he had fomented the confederacy against Francis, and promoted the re-establishment of Sforza; but he now perceived the Emperor never meant to grant the investiture of Milan to the latter, and he determined

mined to avail himself of the resentment of Pescara to achieve a new and more important revolution. He insinuated to that general that now was the time to be avenged of the ungrateful Charles; that it remained with him to disperse the Spanish infantry in such a manner through the Milanese, that in one night they might be destroyed by the people; that he might then, without opposition, take possession of the throne of Naples, of which the Pope would readily grant him the investiture; and which the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Duke of Milan, would join to guarantee to the restorer of liberty to Italy. Astonished at the boldness of the scheme, Pescara stood some moments absorbed in silence; his ambition at length prevailed over his loyalty; and he acceded to the proposal of Moroné.

But when he came coolly to reflect, he was either shocked by the guilt of the action, or despaired of the success of the enterprise; and he determined to reveal the whole conspiracy to the Emperor; that Prince was by his spies already apprised of it; he seemed however highly pleased with Pescara's fidelity, and commanded him to continue the negotiation. Conscious of guilt, the latter dared not refuse the dishonourable office; he invited Moroné to a last interview, finally to arrange their plan; but Antonio de Leyva had been concealed in the apartment, and was an evidence of their conversation; as Moroné was about to withdraw, that officer suddenly appeared, and arrested him; he was committed prisoner to the castle of Pavia; Sforza was declared by his intrigues to have forfeited all title to the duchy of Milan; which, with the exception of the castles of Milan and Cremona, that the unfortunate Duke still continued to defend, was seized by Pescara in the Emperor's name.

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Though the Emperor had added, by the event of this conspiracy, to his dominions in Italy, yet the acquisition balanced not the danger which he apprehended from the confederacy he beheld forming on every side against him. Even the advantages which he proposed to draw from the captivity of Francis, had nearly eluded his grasp. That monarch, instead of the interview with which he had been flattered, found himself in a solitary prison, and guarded with unremitting attention. The only recreation that was permitted him was to take the air on a mule, surrounded by soldiers. The continuance of this harsh treatment for six months, was productive of a fever, which endangered his existence, and during which he constantly complained of the unexpected and unprincely rigour that he had experienced. Solicitous to preserve a life, which must have closed the splendid prospect he had indulged from the victory of Pavia, Charles granted to policy what he had refused to humanity, and hastened from Toledo to Madrid to visit his prisoner. He accosted him in terms of affection and respect, and inspired him with the hopes of speedy deliverance; but no sooner had these promises revived the spirits, and restored the health of the French King, than the Emperor returned to Toledo, resumed his wonted channel of negotiation through his ministers, and observed the same distance to his royal captive as before.

The arrival of Bourbon about the same time in Spain, was the source of a new and severe mortification to Francis. Charles, who had with difficulty been prevailed upon to visit the King of France, received his rebellious subject with the most studied respect. He met him without the gates of Toledo, embraced him with the greatest affection, and placing him on his left hand, conducted him to his apartment. It afforded, however, the captive monarch

narch some consolation to observe that the sentiments of the Spaniards widely differed from those of their sovereign. That generous people detested Bourbon's crime; notwithstanding his great talents, and important services, they shunned all intercourse with him to such a degree, that Charles, having desired the Marquis de Villena to permit Bourbon to reside in his palace, while the court remained at Toledo, he replied, "that he could not refuse to gratify his sovereign in that request;" but added, with a Castilian dignity of mind, "that the Emperor must not be surprised if the moment that the constable departed, he should burn to the ground a house which, having been polluted by the presence of a traitor, became an unfit habitation for a man of honour."

With whatever marks of distinction the Emperor might receive Bourbon, yet the object of his visit could not fail to embarrass him. The latter demanded the hand of Eleanora, the Queen Dowager of Portugal, the honour of which alliance had been one of his chief inducements to rebel against his lawful sovereign. But Francis, who was become a widower, to prevent such a dangerous union, had offered himself to marry that princess; and Eleanor hesitated not to prefer the monarch to the subject. The death of Pescara, at this critical juncture, offered to Charles a new expedient; by that event, the command of the army in Italy became vacant, and the Emperor persuaded Bourbon to accept the office of general in chief there, together with a grant of the Duchy of Milan, forfeited by Sforza, and in return to relinquish his pretensions to the Queen of Portugal.

Though the obstacle which the claims of Bourbon opposed was thus removed, the negotiation with Francis seemed not to advance; and that

prince in despair suddenly took the resolution of resigning his crown to his son the Dauphin; he signed the deed for that purpose with legal formality; empowered his sister, the Duchess of Alençon, to carry it into France; that it might be registered in the parliaments; and intimating his intention to the Emperor, desired him to name the place of his confinement, and to assign him a proper number of attendants during the remainder of his days.

So decisive a project effectually served to quicken the determinations of Charles. Instead of a mighty monarch, he was sensible he might find in his hands a prince without dominions or revenues.—This consideration induced him to abate somewhat of his demands; while Francis having received certain intelligence of a powerful league forming against his rival in Italy, grew more compliant with regard to concessions; trusting, that if once he could obtain his liberty, he should be in a condition to resume whatever he had yielded.

With such views the two monarchs soon came to a final agreement; in respect to the principal article, which regarded Burgundy, the French King engaged to restore that country to the Emperor in full sovereignty; and Charles consented that the restitution should not be made until Francis was set at liberty. In order to secure the performance of this, as well as the other conditions, the latter agreed, that at the same instant he himself was released, he would deliver, as hostages, his eldest son the Dauphin, his second son the Duke of Orleans, or in lieu of the last, twelve of his principal nobility, to be named by the Emperor. By the other articles, the King of France renounced all pretensions in Italy; disclaimed any title to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; promised full reparation for the damages sustained by Bourbon and

his adherents ; and engaged to use his influence with Henry d'Albret to abandon his claim on Navarre. In corroboration of this union, Francis was to marry the Emperor's sister, the Queen Dowager of Portugal ; and to cause all the articles of this treaty to be ratified by the states, and registered in the parliaments of the kingdom ; that upon the Emperor's receiving this ratification, the hostages should be set at liberty ; but in their place, the Duke of Angoulesme, the King's third son, should be delivered to Charles, to be educated at the imperial court ; and if Francis did not fulfil the stipulations within a limited time, he should engage upon his honour and oath to return into Spain, and to surrender himself again a prisoner to the Emperor.

Though the treaty was signed about the middle of January, yet it was not until some weeks after that the ratification of it was returned from Paris, and that Francis was permitted to consummate his marriage with the Queen of Portugal. He immediately took leave of his new brother-in-law with outward demonstrations of regard, but with deep and inward resentment. He was escorted by a body of horse under Alarcon, who, as he drew near the frontiers of France, guarded him with more scrupulous exactness than ever. On the opposite bank of the river Andaye, which separates the two kingdoms, were the Dauphin, and his brother Henry Duke of Orleans, who were to be delivered up as hostages for the due execution of the treaty. The exchange was made in a bark that had been purposely moored in the middle of the stream ; and Francis after a short embrace to his children, leaped into a boat provided for him, and gained the French shore, after having endured a captivity of one year, and twenty days, from the battle of Pavia.

CHAPTER XIV.

Marriage of Charles—New Rupture between him and Francis—Holy League—Expedition and Death of Bourbon—Clement is made Prisoner by the Imperial Army—Is delivered by Lautrec—Milan is besieged by the French—Doria revolts to the Emperor—The French are expelled Italy—Treaty of Cambray—Charles visits Italy and Germany—Procures his Brother to be elected King of the Romans—Campaign against Solyman—Expedition against Tunis—War between Charles and Francis—The former invades Provence—Is compelled to retreat with great Loss—Truce for ten years negotiated between the Emperor and the King of France—Their Interview at Argues-Mortes—Meeting of the Spanish Troops—Authority of the Cortes broken—High spirit of the Spanish Nobles—Revolt of the Citizens of Ghent—Charles obtains Permission to pass through France—His Duplicity to Francis—Quells the Sedition of Ghent—Refuses to grant the Milanese to Francis—Visits Germany—Courts the Protestants—Returns to Italy—Unfortunate Expedition against Algiers—Magnanimity of the Emperor—War resumed between him and Francis—Defeat of the Marquis de Guasta at Cerisoles—Treaty of Crespy.

THE cares of state, and the sound of war, had hitherto engaged the attention of Charles, and banished from his thoughts the more tender passions; by the treaty of Madrid, he flattered himself that he had firmly established his own power, and for ever broken that of his rival. He snatched the short interval that he was allowed

A. D. 1526.

from the toils of government to fix his domestic happiness; and set out for Seville to receive the hand of Isabella, the sister of John the Third, King of Portugal, a princess of uncommon beauty and accomplishments. As the Cortes of Castille and Arragon had warmly solicited their sovereign to marry, this choice of a wife, so nearly allied to both kingdoms, could not but prove acceptable. The court of Lisbon, equally pleased with the alliance, had with unexampled liberality granted Isabella a portion of nine hundred thousand ducats; a sum which, however serviceable to the affairs of the Emperor, was but a secondary consideration, when opposed to the amiable qualities of the princess herself, who throughout life commanded the respect and affection of her imperial consort.

But Charles was not long suffered to indulge in peace the grateful expectations he had formed from the treaty of Madrid; his wisest counsellors had ever distrusted the faith of Francis; they concluded ambition and resentment would prompt him to violate the hard conditions which he had been constrained to subscribe; nor would arguments or casuistry be wanting to represent that which was so manifestly advantageous, to be just and necessary. Indeed, had they known one circumstance, their conjectures would have been converted into certainty; for while the French monarch yet remained at Madrid, he had assembled the few counsellors he could confide in; and after exacting from them a solemn oath of secrecy, he had formally protested, that his consent to the treaty ought to be considered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed void of obligation.

The first step, however, of Francis, was to procure such powerful allies as might enable him to defend his breach of faith by arms. The ambition of the Emperor concurred in facilitating his negotiations.

ations. The King of England, the Pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan, readily entered into a confederacy to set bounds to the progress of Charles; the assumed the title of the *Holy League*; and Clement, by the plenitude of his papal power, absolved his new ally from the oath which he had taken to observe the treaty of Madrid.

Fortified by such temporal and spiritual weapons, when the Imperial ambassadors presented themselves before Francis, to demand the accomplishment of the treaty, the latter gravely replied, that it contained so many articles, which affected the interests of the French monarchy, that he could not take any further step without consulting the states of his kingdom. In the presence of Lannoy and Alarcon, the deputies from the Duchy of Burgundy were admitted, and represented that no King could alienate their country from the Crown. Francis, affecting to be convinced by their arguments, offered, instead of Burgundy, to pay the Emperor two millions of crowns. The proposal was rejected by Lannoy and Alarcon, who retired with indignant contempt from the farce, and before their departure had the additional mortification of hearing the Holy League published with great solemnity against their sovereign.

Of the powers that composed that league A. D. 1527.
the Duke of Milan was already besieged in the castle of his capital; and before the Duke d'Urbino, the general of the confederates, could advance to his relief, the garrison was obliged to surrender to Bourbon; to whom the Emperor had promised the investiture of the Duchy. Sforza himself escaped to Lodi; yet Bourbon, who commanded the Imperial forces in Italy, was scarce less embarrassed than the prince he had expelled. The Milanese had been exhausted by incessant invasions; the Cortes of Castille refused to contribute to the support of a distant war; and fourteen thousand
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hungry Germans, who joined the Imperial army, under the conduct of Fronsberg, served only to augment the distress of the general. To extricate himself from these difficulties, he ventured on a measure as bold as it was unexpected; the veneration for the Apostolic chair had gradually diminished; Clement had of late acted such a part as merited from the Emperor the severest vengeance; and to gratify the rapacity of his soldiers, and the resentment of his sovereign, Bourbon took the daring resolution of marching to Rome. The greatness of his abilities was displayed in the execution of this design; he pressed forwards in the depth of winter with an army of twenty-five thousand men, without money, without magazines, and without artillery; in the face of a superior enemy, he traversed mountains, and rivers, and braved the inclemency of the season. He at length encamped under the walls of the devoted city; but in the moment of victory, he fell by a random shot, and expired with the courage which had characterized his life; his army, under the command of Philibert, Prince of Orange, entered and pillaged the ancient mistress of the world, and by their cruelty and rapacity rendered Rome the seat of carnage and desolation.

The feeble Clement had sought shelter from the tempest in the castle of St. Angelo; but he was soon obliged to surrender; and was committed to the care of Alarcon; who thus had the custody of the two most illustrious personages, who had been made prisoners in Europe during several ages. The death of Bourbon released the Emperor from his promise, and placed Milan again in his power. Nor was the good fortune of the house of Austria less conspicuous in another part of Europe. Solymán, the successor of Selim, and the conqueror of Rhodes, having invaded Hungary with an host of three hundred thousand

and men, Lewis the Second, King of that country and of Bohemia, rashly ventured to engage him at the head of thirty thousand new levied soldiers. His temerity was punished with the loss of his army and his life, and the flower of the Hungarian nobility perished with him on the disastrous field of Mohaoz. As in him the male race of Jagellon expired, his kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia were claimed by the Archduke Ferdinand, by a double title, as inheriting the ancient pretensions of the house of Austria, and in right of his wife, the sister of the deceased monarch. A competitor started up in the Vaywode of Transylvania; but he was forced to yield to the personal merit of Ferdinand, and to the influence of the Emperor; and these new acquisitions, which in process of time, the princes of the house of Austria rendered hereditary in their family, laid the foundation of that pre-eminence in power which has made them so formidable to the rest of Germany.

Yet experience had taught Charles the danger of awakening the fears of mankind; he affected to cast a veil over the success of his plans: and while he exulted in, he pretended to disclaim, the enterprise of Bourbon. He even appointed prayers and processions throughout all Spain, for the recovery of the Pope's liberty, which by an order to his generals he could have immediately granted him; but so gross an artifice did not deceive the world; all Europe heard, with astonishment and horror, the cruel treatment of the successor of St. Peter, by a christian Emperor. Francis, whom his late misfortunes had rendered cautious, and who had hoped to have obtained the freedom of his sons by negotiation, now rushed to action. By the expedition against Rome, the Milanese had been drained of the Imperial forces; and Lautrec, who entered it at the head of a French army, was received by
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the Italians with open arms. He instantly occupied Alexandria, and reduced all the country on that side of the Tefino; Pavia was taken by assault, and the whole Dutchy must have been restored to the dominion of France, had not Lautrec been fearful of exciting, by the conquest, the jealousy of the confederates. He therefore directed his march towards Rome, where the Pope still remained a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. His approach facilitated the deliverance of Clement; the Imperial army, in the indulgence of victory, had become enervated and untractable; they demanded with loud clamours their arrears; and Charles, who could neither depend on their valour nor obedience, and had found the Cortes still averse to granting any pecuniary supply, had recourse to the fears of the Pope. Clement readily consented to purchase his freedom, at the price of three hundred and fifty thousand crowns; part of this was distributed among the Imperial troops, and with the terror of Lautrec's approach, and the influence of the Prince of Orange, induced them to quit Rome, and to point their retreat towards Naples.

A. D. 1528. Animated by the rapid progress of the confederacy, Francis and Henry, by their heralds formally denounced war against Charles.—The defiance of the latter the Emperor received with a decent firmness; but he vented his indignation against the former by every opprobrious expression, and declared he considered him as a stranger to the honour and integrity becoming a gentleman. To this insult Francis returned the lie in form, and challenged his rival to single combat; Charles readily accepted the challenge; the difficulties respecting the order of combat prevented them from actually meeting; but the example of two such illustrious personages had considerable influence on the manners

manners of Europe, and sanctioned the practice of duels in private and personal quarrels.

While the two monarchs seemed so eager to terminate their differences with the sword, the operations of Lautrec promised to prove more decisive. The Imperial army, which had quitted Rome, before it reached Naples, was wasted to one half of its original number, by the effects of its intemperance and debauchery; it was closely followed by Lautrec, who, as he could not hope to carry by assault a city defended by such numerous forces, determined to await the more slow but sure effects of famine; he drew strong lines of circumvallation round Naples; while Andrew Doria, a citizen of Genoa, the ablest seaman of the age, and the admiral of Francis, after defeating the superior fleet of the Emperor, blocked up with his squadron the harbour.

Every thing seemed to promise Lautrec a certain and speedy conquest, when the fair prospect was blasted again, by the imprudence of his sovereign. Born in a republic, and trained from his infancy to the sea, the independent spirit and blunt manners of Doria had proved offensive to the ministers of Francis. Animated with a patriotic zeal for the welfare of his native country, he had opposed with warmth the design of the French to restore the harbour of Savona, which the Genoese had long regarded with jealousy. His manly remonstrances had irritated Francis, who commanded him to be instantly arrested, but Doria got timely intelligence of his danger, and retired with his galleys to a place of safety. He immediately opened a negotiation with the Emperor, who, sensible of his importance, granted him whatever terms he required; and as the servant of his new sovereign, he steered back his course to Naples, not to block up the harbour of

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of that city, but to afford it protection and deliverance.

His revolt was soon felt in the camp of Lautrec ; while plenty was poured into Naples, the French army began to suffer for want of provisions ; they were incessantly harassed by the Imperialists ; and in addition to those misfortunes, the diseases common to the country during sultry months, began to break out among them. Of the whole army not four thousand men were capable of doing duty. Lautrec escaped not the infection ; and, after long struggling with the difficulties of his station, he expired the victim of pestilence and disappointment. His death devolved the command on the Marquis de Saluces, who, unequal to the trust, effected a disorderly retreat to Aversa, and was there compelled to capitulate to the Prince of Orange. The remnant of his troops, without arms or colours, was marched under a guard to the frontiers of France ; the whole of the kingdom of Naples was hastily evacuated ; and the superiority of Charles was restored in Italy.

Deprived of Naples, the French were not long able to keep possession of Genoa ; their garrison in that city was reduced by desertion to an inconsiderable number ; the inhabitants, who had equally experienced the oppression of Francis and Charles, cherished in secret the ancient memory of the republic ; and when Doria, impatient to deliver his country from the yoke of foreigners, sailed into the harbour, they received him with the loudest acclamations. In the citadel, the French attempted a feeble resistance ; but they were soon overwhelmed by the torrent : while Doria, instead of usurping the sovereign power, which the influence of the Emperor, and the gratitude of his countrymen, enabled him easily to have effected, established the government nearly as it subsists at this day, and has obtained

obtained from the justice of posterity, the honourable appellations of the father of his country, and the restorer of its liberty.

Antonio de Leyva reduced the Milanese with the same facility that the Prince of Orange had overrun Naples. Yet amidst these various successes, the thoughts of the Emperor were turned on peace. Solyman having penetrated through Hungary, was ready to break in upon the Austrian territories, with the whole forces of the East.—The doctrines of Luther gained ground daily in Germany; and the princes who favoured them had entered into a confederacy which Charles thought dangerous to the tranquillity of the empire. The Spaniards murmured at the unusual length of a war, the expences of which they had chiefly defrayed. On the other hand, Francis, discouraged and exhausted by so many unsuccessful enterprises, hoped to restore that freedom to his sons by treaty, which he had in vain attempted by arms. In this situation, when the contending parties wished for peace, but durst not venture on the steps necessary to obtain it, two ladies took the weighty care on themselves; the negotiation was conducted by Margarer of Austria, the Emperor's aunt, and Louisa, the mother of Francis; and from the place where it was concluded, obtained the name of the peace of Cambray. The conditions were as glorious and advantageous to Charles as they were ignominious and injurious to Francis. The former, for the present, indeed, was not to demand the restitution of Burgundy, but he was allowed to keep his pretensions in full force; while the latter, for the ransom of the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, agreed to pay two millions of crowns; consented to restore such towns as he still held in the Milanese; renounced his claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and every other place

place beyond the Alps; resigned the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; abandoned his allies the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Duke of Ferrara; in short, sacrificed every object for which he had commenced the war; and while he listened only to the feelings of a father, forgot his faith and dignity as a king.

Henry the Eighth had acceded to the peace of Cambray; and Charles was desirous of employing the moment of tranquillity in visiting his dominions of Italy and Germany. His insinuating address had already captivated the affections of the Spaniards, and every day increased their attachment. Before he embarked for Italy, a striking proof of his disposition to gratify them occurred. He was to make his entry into Barcelona; and some doubts having arisen amongst the inhabitants whether they should receive him as Emperor, or as Count of Barcelona, Charles instantly decided in favour of the latter, declaring, he was more proud of that ancient title, than of his Imperial crown. Soothed by this flattering expression of his regard, the citizens welcomed him with acclamations of joy; and the States of the Provinces imitated the example of the other kingdoms of Spain, in swearing allegiance to his infant son Philip.

In Italy, Charles appeared with the state and pomp of a conqueror. The natives of that country, who had suffered so much from the ferocity and licentiousness of his armies, had been accustomed to fancy him as resembling the barbarous monarchs of the Goths and Huns; and were agreeably surprised to see a prince of graceful appearance, of affable manners, and of exemplary attention to all the offices of religion. They were still more astonished to behold him adjust the concerns of Italy with equity and moderation. He granted Sforza a full pardon and re-established him in his Dutchy; he

he allowed the Duke of Ferrara to keep possession of his dominions; and at Bologna, with affected humility, he knelt down to kiss the feet of that very Pope whom he had so lately detained a prisoner.

The affairs of Germany suffered not A.D. 1530.
Charles to consume his hours in Italy; though Solyman, who, with an hundred and fifty thousand men, had penetrated into Austria, had, by the prudent conduct of Ferdinand, and the treachery of the Ottoman Vizier, been obliged to abandon the siege of Vienna with disgrace, yet the religious disorders which distracted the empire demanded the presence of its head. Several of the German Princes, who had embraced the opinions of Luther, had not only established in their territories that form of worship, but had entirely suppressed the rites of the Romish church. Many of the free cities had imitated their conduct; almost one half of the Germanic body had revolted from the Papal see, and its authority was considerably weakened in the other half; nor could the Emperor fail to observe that the religious divisions and the confederacies they led to, tended to diminish the Imperial influence. To suppress them, he called a diet at Augsburgh; it was attended by all the Princes of the empire, and more particularly those who, from protesting against the decree of a late Diet at Spire, which enjoined them to continue the celebration of Mass, had obtained the name of PROTESTANTS. The principal of these were the electors of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Lunenburgh, and the Prince of Anhalt. Though in the presence of the Emperor, they conducted themselves with the greatest decency, they defended with fortitude the opinions they had embraced; and though solicited separately, refused to abandon what they deemed the cause of God for the

the sake of an earthly acquisition. The majority of the Diet was more compliant; they issued a decree, condemning most of the tenets held by the Protestants; and threatening with severe penalties any person who should presume to inculcate them.— Yet, instead of intimidating the chiefs of the latter, it only induced them to confederate more closely; and the league of Smalkalde, which they immediately after concluded, for their mutual defence against all aggressors, and to which they solicited the protection of the Kings of France and England, was the result of their just jealousy.

A. D. 1531. Their civil, as well as religious freedom, seemed endangered by the measures of Charles; he had formed the project of continuing the Imperial crown in his family by procuring his brother Ferdinand to be elected King of the Romans; and though the Lutheran Princes opposed the design with vigour, yet the other electors yielded to his wishes, and Ferdinand was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, notwithstanding the protest of the elector of Saxony.

Many circumstances concurred, however, notwithstanding his success, to convince Charles that it was not prudent at this juncture to attempt the extirpation of the protestant religion by violence. The protestants were considerable by their numbers, and formidable from their zeal. They had discovered their own strength; the peace with France was precarious: the friendship of the Pope was not to be relied upon; and Solymán, in order to repair the discredit of the former campaign, was preparing to enter Austria with more numerous forces. Influenced by these motives, Charles relaxed from his severity; and proclaimed that till the meeting of a general council, all proceedings against the Protestants should be stopped, and the sentence already passed to their detriment should be annulled

annulled. Grateful for these concessions, the latter exerted themselves with extraordinary ardour to furnish their proportion of the supplies against the Turks; and Charles being joined by a body of Spanish and Italian veterans, marched at the head of ninety thousand disciplined foot, and thirty thousand horse, to defend Hungary against Solyman, who had invaded it with three hundred thousand men.

Such numerous forces, commanded by A. D. 1532. the two greatest monarchs in the world, could not fail to excite the attention of mankind; but each dreaded the other's power and fortune; and both conducted their operations with such excessive caution, that the campaign elapsed without any memorable event. Solyman, finding it impossible to gain ground upon an enemy always upon his guard, marched back towards the end of the autumn; and on the retreat of the Turks, the Emperor set out to revisit Spain.

On his way, he had an interview at A.D. 1533-34 Bologna with Clement; yet whatever promises the Pope might enter into, he was soon tempted by the marriage of his niece, the celebrated Catherine de Medicis, with Henry, the second son of Francis, to espouse with more warmth than ever the French interest; the pontificate of Clement may be marked as one of the most disastrous for the see of Rome. His refusal to dissolve the marriage of Henry of England with Catherine, the aunt of the Emperor, induced the former to throw off the Papal supremacy; and his death, about eleven months after the marriage of his niece, disappointed Francis of the advantage he had fondly expected from his alliance; and raised to the Apostolic chair Paul the Third, who had hitherto invariably adhered to the Imperial interest.

Indefa-

A. D. 1535. Indefatigable in the pursuit of glory or power, Charles had not long returned to Spain before he meditated a new enterprise; that part of the coast of Africa, which is known by the name of Barbary, and which comprises the kingdoms of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, was peopled by a motley race of Arabs, Negroes, and Moors, all zealous professors of the Mahometan religion, and bigoted enemies to christianity. After a variety of revolutions, the throne of Algiers had been usurped by Heyradin, better known by the name of Barbarossa, the son of a Potter of Lesbos, whose daring courage and singular success, in the infamous trade of piracy, had enabled him gradually to assemble twelve gallies, and being received as the ally of the King of Algiers, he had murdered, and seized the sceptre of, the monarch to whose assistance he had sailed. Conscious of the detestation of his subjects, he put his dominions under the protection of the Grand Seignior, and received for his security a body of Turkish soldiers. The fame of his naval exploits daily increasing, Solyman offered him the command of the Turkish fleet; and Barbarossa, mingling the arts of a courtier with the boldness of a Corsair, soon gained the entire confidence both of the Sultan and Vizier; and prevailed on them to promote the plan he had formed for the conquest of Tunis; he sailed with a fleet of two hundred and fifty vessels; availed himself of the rival claims which distracted the country; and compelled Muley Hascen the King to fly with precipitation before him. But while the Tunisiens expected him to have proclaimed one of their native princes, in whose behalf he pretended to have armed, the name of Solyman, mingled with the shouts of the Turkish soldiers, revealed his treachery; and the people, unprepared for resistance, were compelled to acknowledge the Sultan as their sovereign, and Barbarossa as his viceroy.

Possessed

Posseſſed of ſuch extenſive territories, he carried on his depredations againſt the Chriſtian ſtates to a greater extent than ever; he ſtrengthened the citadel of Tunis; he fortified the fort of Goletta, which commands the bay, and made it the principal ſtation for his fleet, and the Arſenal for his military ſtores. The outrages of his cruizers were the ſubject of continual complaint to the Emperor, and while the honour of that prince was concerned in the protection of his ſubjects, his compaſſion was intereſted by the ſolicitations of the exiled Haſcen, who had eſcaped to Spain, and preſented himſelf a ſuppliant before the Imperial throne. Animated by the thirſt of fame, Charles readily yielded to his intreaties; he declared his deſign to command in perſon the armament deſtined for the invaſion of Tunis; and the united ſtrength of his dominions was called out upon an enterpriſe on which his glory depended. A Flemiſh fleet brought a body of German infantry; the gallies of Sicily took on board the veteran bands of Italy and Spain; the Emperor embarked at Barcelona with the flower of the Spaniſh chivalry, and was joined by a ſquadron from Portugal. Another ſquadron, though ſmall, yet formidable from the valour of the knights, was equipped by the order of Malta; while Doria, with the title of High Admiral, conducted his own veſſels, the beſt appointed at that time in Europe; and, under the Emperor, the command of the land forces was intruſted to the Marquis de Guaſto.

From Cagliari, in Sardinia, the general rendezvous, the fleet ſailed about the middle of July; and after a proſperous navigation, the troops, conſiſting of above thirty thouſand regulars, were landed within ſight of Tunis. Nor had Barbaroſſa been deſtitute of either vigour or prudence, in preparing for his defence. He had aſſembled twenty thouſand horſe, and a conſiderable body of foot;

but he presumed not with his light troops to encounter the Imperial veterans; and his chief confidence was placed in the strength of the Goletta. That fort was garrisoned by six thousand Turkish soldiers, under the command of Sinan, a renegade Jew, and one of the bravest and most experienced of the Corsairs. It was immediately invested by the Emperor; the Germans, the Spaniards, and the Italians rushed to the attack with that eager courage which national emulation inspires; though the skill of Sinan was seconded by the resolution of the garrison; though Barbarossa alarmed the Christian camp with continual incursions, yet the breaches of the Goletta soon became considerable, and the governor, with the remnant of the troops, was glad to escape from the fury of the assailants, over a shallow part of the Bay to the city.

With the fort, Charles became master of the fleet and arsenal of Barbarossa; yet the courage of the Corsair did not sink beneath the blow. The extent and feeble state of the walls of Tunis, determined him not to await a siege in his capital.—At the head of fifty thousand men, he boldly resolved to meet the Imperialists; but before he marched out, he proposed to his officers to massacre ten thousand Christian slaves, whom he had shut up in the citadel; inured as they were to blood, they startled with horror at the proposal; and Barbarossa, rather from the dread of irritating his own followers, than swayed by motives of humanity, consented to spare the lives of his captives.

The approach of the Imperial banners summoned him to the field; with loose ranks, and discordant shouts, the Moors and Arabs rushed to the encounter. But they could not long withstand the shock of regular battalions. The rout became general; and Barbarossa, after in vain endeavouring to rally his troops, was hurried along with them in their flight

flight back to the city. But the event he had foreboded had already taken place; the Christian slaves had gained two of their keepers, and knocking off their fetters, they had overpowered the Turkish garrison, and seized the citadel; and Barbarossa, disappointed and enraged, exclaiming sometimes against the false compassion of his officers, and sometimes against his own imprudent compliance, fled with precipitation to Bona.

As Charles advanced slowly towards Tunis, a messenger from the slaves informed him of their success, and deputies arrived from the town to present him the keys of their gates, and to implore his protection from military violence; but before he could issue the necessary orders, the soldiers, alarmed lest they should be deprived of the booty they had expected, precipitated themselves on the city, and Tunis was doomed to suffer all the excesses which lust and avarice, contempt and hatred, naturally inspire; in one day thirty thousand of the innocent inhabitants perished; and amidst the scene of horror, Charles lamented the fatal accident which had stained the lustre of his victory.

Muley Hascen took possession of a throne surrounded with carnage, and the treaty he entered into with Charles served still more to render him the object of detestation to his people. He consented to do homage for the crown of Tunis; he agreed to set at liberty all Christian slaves within his dominions, of whatever nation, without ransom; to allow the free exercise of the Christian religion to the Emperor's subjects; to exclude the Turkish Corsairs from his harbours; to deliver up the Goletta, with all the other sea ports which were fortified, to Charles; and to pay annually twelve thousand crowns for the subsistence of the garrisons.

The sickly state of his army allowed not Charles to pursue the flying Barbarossa. He embarked

again for Spain ; but though deprived of the glory of leading in chains that daring Corsair, yet the lustre of his expedition dazzled the eyes of Europe ; and twenty thousand slaves, whom he had freed from bondage either by his arms, or his treaty with Muley, each of whom he clothed, and furnished with the means of returning to their respective countries, diffused the fame of their benefactor's munificence ; and extolled his power and abilities with the exaggeration flowing from gratitude and admiration.

It was not alone in Africa that the star of Austria seemed predominant. The conquest of Mexico, by Cortes, had only sharpened the desires of the Spaniards for new adventures ; they had discovered and subjected the rich kingdom of Peru, extending from North to South above fifteen hundred miles along the pacific ocean : and about the time that the Emperor undertook his expedition against Tunis, Francis Pizarro founded in the new world the city of Lima, destined to become the future capital of Peruvian opulence.

The conduct of Charles derived an increase of lustre, when contrasted with that of his rival Francis. While the former was engaged in breaking the fetters of the Christians in Africa, the latter was occupied in extending his intrigues through Italy. The treaty of Cambray had covered, but not extinguished, the flames of discord between those princes. And the execution of Merveille, a French Agent at Milan, whom Sforza, notwithstanding his public character, caused to be put to death on account of his having killed his adversary in a duel, and whose fate Francis attributed to the influence of the Emperor, furnished the former with a pretext for hostilities. He burst into the territories of the Duke of Savoy, who had refused a passage to his troops, and stript that prince,

prince, already embarrassed by the revolt of the city of Geneva, of the greatest part of his dominions ; and had he immediately advanced to Milan, he could scarcely have failed of obtaining possession of the dutchy.

Such was the situation of affairs when Charles landed from Tunis ; but though he was bound in honour and policy to redress the injuries which had been offered to his ally the Duke of Savoy, he was still embarrassed for means. Most of the troops employed in the African expedition had been raised for that service alone, and on the conclusion of it had claimed their discharge ; and the treasury of the Emperor had been drained by his extraordinary efforts against the infidels ; the opportune death of Sforza, occasioned by the terror of a French invasion, which had been twice fatal to his family, afforded Charles leisure to prepare for action ; he seized the dutchy as a fief which reverted to the Empire ; but at the same time he affected to admit the equity of Francis's claim, and seemed only solicitous about giving him possession in such a manner as might not overturn the balance of power in Italy.

While Francis, deceived by the professions of his rival, wasted the hours in negotiation, Charles improved the interval of leisure in providing funds and assembling forces for the war he meditated. He drew a considerable supply of money from the states of Naples and Sicily, and of troops from Germany ; and no sooner did he find himself ready for action, than he threw off the mask, and in the presence of the Pope and Cardinals, reviled the King of France in the most indecent and opprobrious terms. A.D. 1536.

His invectives were supported by the sword ; with forty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, he entered Piedmont ; the forces of France retired before him ;

him; and the treachery of the Marquis de Saluces, who commanded them, facilitated the progress of the Emperor; that nobleman, by a superstitious faith in astrology, and a belief that the fatal period of the French nation was at hand, was induced to betray the cause of his sovereign and benefactor; and Charles having restored to the Duke of Savoy part of the territories that the French had wrested from him, without waiting to recover the rest, hastened to erect more splendid trophies on the banks of the Rhone.

On the side of the Low Countries, he had directed an army of Flemings to enter Picardy; and he flattered himself the Germans, under the King of the Romans, would penetrate into Champagne while he reserved for his own arms the invasion of Provence; in vain did his ministers and generals represent to him the danger of leading his troops to such a distance from his magazines, into countries which did not yield sufficient subsistence for their own inhabitants; in vain did they recall to his remembrance the fatal miscarriage of Bourbon and Pescara, who had undertaken the same enterprise, under circumstances which seemed as certain to promise success; blinded by the presumption that accompanies prosperity, and relying perhaps in some degree on the prophecies which predicted the increase of his own grandeur, Charles slighted their remonstrances, obstinately adhered to his opinions; and even desired the historian Jovius to make a large provision of paper to record the victories he fondly flattered himself he should obtain.

But Francis had early discovered the design of his rival not to confine his operations to Piedmont and Savoy, but to push forward into the southern provinces of France. He himself was determined to remain on the defensive; without hazarding a battle,

battle, to throw garrisons into the towns of the greatest strength, and to deprive the enemy of subsistence by laying waste the country before them. The execution of this plan he devolved on the Marechal Montmorency; a man haughty and severe; confident in his own abilities, and despising those of others; and in the prosecution of his schemes alike regardless of love and of pity.

Such a man failed not to execute his trust with unfeeling punctuality; he pitched his camp under the walls of Avignon, at the confluence of the Rhone and the Durance, and converted the country round into a desert. When Charles, sanguine and ardent, entered Provence, he was struck with the silence and desolation that reigned from the Alps to Marseilles, from the sea to the confines of Dauphiné. A few defenceless towns immediately submitted to him; but the fields, destitute of cattle or grain, chilled the hopes of the invaders; his fleet was long detained by contrary winds, and afforded at last but a scanty and precarious supply. The camp of Montmorency defied his arms; the cities of Arles and Marseilles had been strengthened by new fortifications, and repulsed his feeble attempts. After having consumed two inglorious months in Provence, and having lost one half of his troops by disease or famine, Charles reluctantly gave the signal for retreat; even this last and ungrateful expedient which necessity enforced, was executed with difficulty; the light troops of the enemy hung upon his rear; and swarms of peasants were eager to avenge on the Imperialists the calamities they had brought on their country. The road was strewed with their arms and baggage, which in their hurry and trepidation they had abandoned; and nothing could have saved them from utter destruction, but the pertinacious caution of Montmorency, who still adhered to his original system, and often repeated

repeated his favourite maxim, that a bridge of gold ought to be made for a flying enemy.

On the side of Picardy, the Flemings, after a fruitless attempt on Peronne, had retired within their own limits; the Germans had refused to assist the ambitious enterprizes of a prince whose rising power they dreaded; and Charles having conducted the remnant of his forces to Milan, proceeded to Genoa, and embarked for Spain; incapable of enduring the scorn of the Italians after such a sad reverse of fortune; and unwilling, under his present circumstances, to revisit those cities through which he had so lately passed in triumph as the conqueror of Tunis.

A. D. 1537. The next year opened with a scene as singular as it was unworthy the author of it.—The King of France summoned the Emperor, as his vassal, for the counties of Artois and Flanders, to appear before the Parliament of Paris; and on his refusal, declared those fiefs forfeited by his contumacy and rebellion. As if to execute this sentence, Francis marched towards the Low Countries, and possessed himself of several towns. These were soon retaken by the superior forces of the Flemings; who, in their turn, invested Terouanne. The Dauphin and Montmorency advanced to relieve it; but when they were within a few miles of the enemy, and a battle appeared unavoidable, they were stopt by the intelligence that a suspension of arms was agreed upon.

A. D. 1538. The enmity of both monarchs seems to have exceeded their resources; and their coffers were exhausted by their frequent and bloody wars; the alliance of Solyman with the French King operated as an additional motive for peace; and while Charles dreaded the formidable armaments of the Sultan, who had defeated the Germans in an obstinate but decisive battle at Esflak
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on the Drave, Francis was not insensible to the infamy which accompanied his confederacy with infidels against a Christian prince; though innumerable difficulties opposed a definitive treaty, each monarch affected to listen to the exhortations of the Roman pontiff, who, as their common father, had maintained the neutrality suitable to his character; and the truce which their mutual necessities had prescribed for ten months in the Low Countries, was, by the mediation of Paul, stretched to Piedmont, and extended to ten years.

A few days after signing the treaty of Nice, the Emperor was driven, in his passage to Barcelona, by contrary winds, on the island of St. Margaret, on the coast of Provence. Francis, informed of this circumstance, invited him to take shelter in his dominions, and proposed a personal interview at Aigues Mortes. To this Charles consented; the two rivals, after twenty years open hostilities, vied with each other in demonstrations of regard; from implacable hatred, they appeared to pass in a moment to the most cordial reconciliation: and from practising all the dark arts of a deceitful policy, their conduct proved to the world they could at pleasure assume the liberal manners of two gallant gentlemen.

Charles had scarce reached Spain, before he had the mortification to find that the A. D. 1539 suspension of foreign war was far from being attended with the restoration of internal tranquillity; his troops, to whom vast arrears were due, broke out into open sedition; they plundered the Milanese threatened to deliver up the Goletta to Barbarossa; and pillaged the most opulent cities of Sicily; these insurrections were quelled by the prudence and address of the Imperial generals, who, by borrowing money in their own name and that of their master, and by extorting large sums from the towns within their

their respective provinces, raised sufficient to discharge the arrears of their soldiers; and to avoid a similar danger, disbanded the greatest part of the troops.

Before the happy effects of their zeal was known to the Emperor, that monarch had endeavoured again to awaken the liberality of his Castilian subjects. For this purpose he assembled the Cortes at Toledo, and having represented the extraordinary expence of his military operations, he proposed to levy such supplies as the exigency of his affairs demanded, by a general excise on commodities. But the Spaniards, who had often complained that their country was drained not only of its wealth but its inhabitants, in order to fight battles, in which it was not interested, determined not to furnish the Emperor with the means of engaging in new enterprises. The nobles, in particular, inveighed with great vehemence against the imposition proposed, as an encroachment upon the privilege of their order, which was exempted from the payment of any tax. They demanded a conference with the representatives of the cities, concerning the state of the nation; and they contended if Charles would imitate the example of his predecessors, who had resided constantly in Spain, and would avoid entangling himself in a multitude of transactions, foreign to his Spanish dominions, the stated revenues of the Crown would be fully sufficient to defray the necessary expences of government. After employing arguments, entreaties, and promises, without success, Charles dismissed them with indignation. From that period, neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to these assemblies, on pretence that such as pay no part of the taxes should not claim any vote in laying them on; and none have been admitted but the representatives of eighteen cities. These, to the number of thirty-six,

fix, two from each community, compose the modern Cortes, which bears no resemblance either in power or in dignity to the ancient assembly of that name, and has ever been at the absolute devotion of the court; and the nobles beheld too late that the imprudence with which they had supported the Crown in the war against the Junta, had at length proved fatal to the influence of their own order.

Yet though deprived of their wonted political prerogatives, as a body, the personal privileges which were still attached to them as individuals, they defended with an haughtiness peculiar to themselves. Of this the Emperor had a mortifying proof during the meeting of the Cortes at Toledo. As he was returning from a tournament, one of the serjeants of the court, to make way for him, struck the Duke of Infantado's horse, who resenting the insult, drew his sword, and beat and wounded the officer. Charles, provoked at this daring action in his presence, ordered Ronquillo, the judge of the court, to arrest the duke: but Ronquillo was checked by the constable of Castille, who claimed the right of jurisdiction over a grandee as a privilege of his office, and conducted Infantado to his apartment. All the nobles present were so pleased with the boldness of the constable in asserting the rights of their order, that, deserting the Emperor, they attended him to his house with infinite applause; and Charles returned to the palace, unaccompanied by any person but the Cardinal Tavera. The Emperor, sensible of the danger of irritating men of such high and determined spirit, instead of straining any ill-timed exertion of his prerogative, prudently connived at the affront, and sent next morning to the Duke of Infantado, offering to inflict what punishment he pleased on the person who had insulted him: the Duke considering this as a full reparation to his honour, instantly forgave the
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officer, bestowing on him besides a considerable compensation for his wound ; but though the affair was happily adjusted, it remains on record as a proof of the high-spirited manners of the Castilian nobles, and the dextrous policy of the Emperor, which could accommodate itself to every circumstance.

Charles was far from discovering the same condescension towards the citizens of Ghent. The inhabitants of that rich but turbulent city, had refused to be included in a vote of supply of the states of the United Provinces, of which their representatives were members ; and had asserted that no tax could be levied upon them, without their express consent : the deputies which they had sent to urge their pretensions to Charles, had been repulsed with haughtiness, and the inhabitants of Ghent, enraged at this treatment, had rushed to arms, had seized the Imperial officers, and erecting the standard of rebellion, had not only offered to accept of the king of France as a sovereign, but had promised to assist him in recovering those provinces in the Netherlands, which had formerly been annexed to his crown.

Their revolt and negotiation filled Charles with the utmost disquietude ; though by repeating his wonted arts, and affecting an inclination to gratify Francis by the cession of the Milanese, he secured the neutrality of the latter, and prevailed upon him to dismiss the deputies from Ghent with an harsh answer ; yet when he considered the genius and disposition of his subjects in the Netherlands, their love of liberty, their attachment to ancient privileges and customs, as well as the invincible obstinacy with which they persevered in any measure, he was convinced his presence alone could restrain the rising discontent. But his route by land through Italy and Germany would have been tedious,

tedious, and his voyage by sea uncertain; and contrary to the unanimous remonstrances of his counsellors, he resolved, as the most expeditious way, to demand the permission of Francis to pass through his territories; while he requested this favour from the latter, he instructed Granvelle, his ambassador, to promise he would soon settle the affairs of the Milanese; but at the same time he entreated that no new engagement might be exacted from him, lest what he granted at this juncture might seem rather to be extorted by necessity than to flow from a love of justice; and Francis, judging from his own heart, and dazzled by the splendour of overcoming an enemy by acts of generosity, assented at once to all that was demanded.

Charles, to whom every moment was precious, immediately set out with a small, A. D. 1540. but splendid, train of about an hundred persons. In all the towns through which he passed, the greatest magnificence was displayed; the king advanced to Chatelherault to meet him; and they proceeded together to Paris; but the allurements of that capital detained not the Emperor above six days; he was conscious of the dissingenuous part he was acting; and he trembled lest Francis might be tempted to avail himself of the advantage in his hands. He pleaded the necessity of his presence in the Low Countries; and he was accompanied as far as St. Quintin by his generous and unsuspecting rival.

The citizens of Ghent were incapable of resisting their offended prince, who advanced, at the head of a numerous army, drawn from Germany, or levied in the Netherlands; to their ambassadors, who implored his mercy, and offered to set open their gates, he sternly replied, that he would appear among them as their sovereign, with the sceptre in one hand, and the sword in the other. Though he chose to enter the city on the twenty-fourth

fourth of February, his birth-day, he was far from being touched with that tenderness or indulgence which was natural towards the place of his nativity. Twenty-six of the principal citizens were put to death, a great number was sent into banishment. The city was declared to have forfeited all its privileges and immunities; the revenues belonging to it were confiscated; its ancient form of government was abolished; a strong citadel was erected to bridle the seditious spirit of the inhabitants; and by these rigorous proceedings, Charles set an awful example of severity before his other subjects in the Netherlands, who should presume to oppose the will of their sovereign.

But if in the reduction of the citizens of Ghent his vigour must be applauded, the duplicity he used to Francis has fixed the foulest blot on the annals of his reign. Though at first he condescended to elude the demands of the French ambassadors, who required, in the name of their master, the cession of the Milanese, yet no sooner had he established his authority in the Low Countries, than he threw off the mask, and denied that he had ever made any promise which could bind him to an action so foolish as to strengthen an enemy by diminishing his own power.

A. D. 1541. While the French monarch discharged on his ministers the indignation he felt at being thus duped by his rival, the Emperor, assured of the submission of the Netherlands, directed his attention to the affairs of Germany. He summoned a Diet at Ratibon, in which was opened a conference between the Popish and Protestant divines; but however inclined Charles might be to favour the opinions of the former, he dreaded to exasperate the latter; Francis, he knew, only waited for a favourable opportunity to commence hostilities; and the progress of Solyman in Hungary, who

who had seized, by treachery, the important city of Buda, afforded him the most serious apprehensions for the safety of Austria; thus circumstanced, though the Diet of Ratisbon had rather confirmed than impeached the papal authority, Charles privately assured the reformed that no steps should be taken detrimental to their interests; and the Protestants, satisfied with these assurances, concurred in granting such liberal supplies of men and money for the war against the Turks, as enabled him to leave Germany without the least anxiety about the consequences of the ensuing campaign.

Immediately on his arrival in his Italian dominions, Charles prepared for the execution of an enterprize that he had long revolved. Ever since Barbarossa had commanded the Ottoman fleet, Algiers had been governed by Hascen Aga, a renegado Eunuch, who in his piratical depredations on the Christian states, surpassed, if possible, Barbarossa himself in boldness and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was nearly annihilated, and the coasts of Spain continually alarmed by his numerous cruizers. The clamorous complaints of his subjects, and the remembrance of the glory that he had acquired in his late expedition to Africa, inflamed Charles with the desire of conquering Algiers. Before he left Madrid, in his way to the Low Countries, he had issued orders, both in Spain and Italy, to prepare a fleet and army for that purpose. And on his return from Germany, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Andrew Doria, who represented the danger of approaching the African coast at such an advanced season of the year, he proceeded to Sardinia, the place of general rendezvous. The force, indeed, which he had collected, might have inspired a prince less adventurous, and less confident in his own schemes, with the most sanguine hopes of success. It consisted of twenty thousand

thousand foot, and two thousand horse, mostly veterans, together with three thousand volunteers, the flower of the Spanish and Italian nobility, and a thousand soldiers sent from Malta, by the order of St. John, and led by an hundred of its most gallant knights.

After a tedious and tempestuous navigation, Charles anchored off the coast of Africa, landed his troops, and advanced immediately towards the town. To oppose the invaders, Hascen had only eight hundred Turks, and five thousand Moors; and the motley band might be well despised by a prince who had vanquished Barbarossa at the head of sixty thousand men. But the triumph which Charles already anticipated in fancy, was snatched from him by a calamity, against which human prudence, and human efforts, were of no avail. On the second day after his landing, the clouds began to gather, and the sky to assume a threatening aspect. The fury of the tempest swelled towards night; and the soldiers, who brought ashore nothing but their arms, were exposed to all its rage. Their camp was overflowed; at every step they sunk into the mud; and to resist the violence of the wind, they were forced to recline on their spears; to complete their distress, at dawn of day, Hascen sallied from the city, and with his followers fresh and vigorous, scattered slaughter and dismay through the ranks of the benumbed and disheartened Christians; nor did he retire until the Emperor advanced in person with his main body to repulse him.

The return of light served only to augment the grief and consternation of the Imperialists. At sea the effects of the hurricane had been felt with more fatal violence. The ships, on which the whole army knew their safety and subsistence depended, were driven from their anchors, dashed against the rocks, or overwhelmed by the waves. In less than
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an hour fifteen ships of war, and an hundred and forty transports with eight thousand men, perished; and such of the unhappy crews who escaped the sea, were murdered, without mercy, by the Arabs, as soon as they reached the land. The Emperor beheld in silent anguish, the hopes he had flattered himself with for ever blasted, and the vast stores which he had provided buried in the deep. It was doubtful whether as many vessels could be saved as would transport back the survivors to Europe; another night was passed in all the agony of suspense and disappointment. The next day, a boat, dispatched by Doria, gained the shore, and informed Charles, that after having weathered out the storm, to which, in fifty years knowledge of the sea, he had never seen any equal in fierceness, he had borne away, with his shattered ships, to Cape Metafuz, and he advised the Emperor to march with all speed to that place, where the troops could re-embark with greater ease.

Whatever gleam of hope this information imparted was clouded by new cares. Metafuz was at least three days march from the present camp; the provisions which had been at first brought on shore were consumed; and the troops, worn out with fatigue, were in no condition to encounter new toils. But the danger allowed them not to deliberate. The wounded, the sick, and the feeble, were placed in the centre, and such as seemed more vigorous in the front and rear. Many sunk beneath the weight of their arms; many were swept away by the brooks, which had been swelled into torrents by the rains; numbers were slaughtered by the Arabs, who incessantly hung on their rear; and famine was scarce less fatal than the sword. The meagre remnant arrived at length at Metafuz, where their communication with the fleet restored them to plenty, and to the hope of safety.

During this dreadful series of calamities, Charles discovered qualities which prosperity hitherto had allowed him scarce any opportunity to display. His magnanimity, fortitude, and humanity appeared conspicuous. He endured the same hardships as the meanest soldier; he exposed his own person wherever danger threatened; he encouraged the desponding; visited the sick and wounded; and animated all by his words and example. Though a body of Arabs hovered round his rear, he was the last who left the shore; and his obstinacy and presumption, in undertaking the enterprise, were palliated by the virtues he exerted in conducting it.

After a long and stormy voyage, he disembarked in Spain; but such had been the consequence of his ambition, and such were the extent of his dominions, that he could scarce breathe from past toils, before he found himself summoned to new. Impatient to take vengeance on the duplicity of the Emperor, Francis had filled every court in Europe with his negotiations; but Solyman alone embraced his proffered alliance; as two of his agents were returning from the Ottoman Porte, they were assassinated at the instigation of the Marquis de Guasto, who, from their dispatches hoped to penetrate the designs of the French King; the latter loudly accused this foul violation of the laws of nations, and demanded the punishment of the contriver of the atrocious deed. His demands were eluded; and he gladly embraced the opportunity of extorting by arms, that justice which had been denied to his representations.

A. D. 1542.

Before Charles could prepare to resist the storm, five formidable armies invaded his dominions, and those of his ally the Duke of Savoy. The objects of their operations were Spain, Luxembourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Piedmont. In the two former countries, the Dauphin and the Duke

Duke of Orleans opened the campaign about the same time. The first laid siege to Perpignan, the capital of Roussillon; the last entered Luxembourg, and reduced the greatest part of the Dutchy. But on a report that the Emperor was advancing to relieve Perpignan, the Duke of Orleans imprudently abandoned his conquests, and hastened to join the army of the Dauphin. However anxious the Emperor might be for the fate of that city, he determined not to hazard a decisive engagement; but committed the defence of it to the persevering valour of the Duke of Alva. The French after a siege of three months, wasted by diseases, and repulsed in several attacks, abandoned the undertaking, and retired into their own country. Their attempts in Brabant, Flanders, and Piedmont, were almost equally unsuccessful; and Charles had the satisfaction to behold the strength of his rival consumed in fruitless enterprises.

He himself, from the moment that the war had commenced, had been assiduously employed in preparing for the contest. The Cortes, impressed by terror and resentment at the invasion of Spain, granted him subsidies with a more liberal hand than usual. On the security of the Molucca isles he borrowed of John, King of Portugal, a considerable sum of money; he negociated a marriage between his son Philip, and Mary the daughter of that monarch, to whom her father gave a large dowry. He obtained donatives from the states of Arragon and Valencia; for a valuable consideration from Cosmo de Medici, he consented to withdraw the garrisons he had hitherto kept in the citadels of Florence and Leghorn; and he prevailed on Henry of England, disgusted with the close connection that Francis had maintained with Scotland, to declare openly on his side.

A. D. 1544. Under these circumstances, it might have been expected that Charles would have opened the campaign with vigour; but after providing for the security of Spain, and detaching a considerable body of Spanish troops to the Netherlands, he passed into Germany; and while he contented himself with punishing the insolence of the Duke of Cleves, who had imitated the conduct of Robert de la Marck, he suffered Francis to ravage Luxembourg, and in conjunction with the Sultan to invest Nice.

A. D. 1545. Of this last enterprise Charles however availed himself with his usual dexterity; he represented to the Diet assembled at Spire, that a war with Francis and Solyman ought to be considered as the same thing; and that it was folly to oppose the Turk in Hungary when such a powerful ally received him in the centre of Europe; at the same time, he gained the Protestants by suspending all rigorous edicts that had been issued against them; and the Diet, vanquished by his intrigues and arguments, consented to levy and maintain a body of twenty-four thousand foot, and four thousand horse, to be employed against France.

In the treaty between the Emperor and the King of England, they had agreed each to invade France, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, to penetrate directly through the interior provinces, and to join their forces near Paris. But before the Emperor could assemble his troops, he received the intelligence of an event which threatened the most fatal consequences to his grandeur in Italy.

Early in the spring, the young Count d'Enguien, whose military talents revived the memory of Gaston de Foix, had penetrated into Piedmont, and invested Carignan. To relieve it, the Marquis de Guasto resolved to hazard a battle. But though the army of the latter exceeded greatly in number that
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of his adversaries, and the plain of Cerisoles, in which they engaged, afforded to neither party any advantage of ground, yet the Imperialists were totally routed; ten thousand slain; and their camp and artillery taken. On this occasion, Guasto is said not to have displayed his wonted presence of mind; he dreaded falling into the hands of the French, who were exasperated against him, on account of the murder of their agents from Constantinople; he forgot to order a large body of reserve to advance; and wounded in his thigh, it was alone by the swiftness of his horse that he escaped the pursuit of the victors.

Though Charles could not but feel this blow, yet had Henry and he acted up to their original plan, rapidly penetrated through Picardy, and joined their forces near Paris, that capital must have acknowledged a foreign master. But while the King of England laid siege to Boulogne, the Emperor, with fifty thousand men, invested St. Disier; nor could either be prevailed on to abandon the enterprise he had undertaken. After a siege of five weeks, St. Disier surrendered; but Charles, in the attack, had lost a number of his best troops; his army began to clamour for want of pay, and the scarcity of provisions increased their discontent; he contrived, indeed, to surprise Espernay and Chateau Thiéri, on the direct route to Paris; but the interval had allowed Francis to recall part of his forces from Piedmont, and the Emperor beheld in his front a numerous army, commanded by the Dauphin, whom no artifices could allure to stake the fortune of his country on the event of an action. Harassed by the enemy, and distressed for subsistence, Charles fell back to Soissons; and having in vain summoned Henry to quit the siege of Boulogne, and press forwards to Paris, he determined, without further attention

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attention to his ally, to listen to the overtures of peace that had been made him.

The last treaty between Charles and Francis was signed at Crespy, a small town near Meaux. The chief articles of it were, that all the conquests which either party had made since the truce of Nice, should be restored; that the Emperor should give in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, either his own eldest daughter, or the second daughter of his brother Ferdinand; that with the former he should bestow the Netherlands, with the latter, the Dutchy of Milan; that within four months he should fix on one of the princesses, and within a year fulfil the respective conditions; that as soon as the Duke of Orleans was put in possession of the Netherlands or Milan, Francis should restore to the Duke of Savoy all that he possessed of his territories, except Pignerol and Montmelian; that he should also renounce all pretensions to Naples, and the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, while Charles, on his side, was to relinquish his claims on the Dutchy of Burgundy and the country of Charolois; and that both monarchs should join in making war on the Turk, to which the French King should furnish, when required by the Emperor and the empire, six hundred men at arms, and ten thousand foot.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XV.

Private Article of Crespy—Progress of the Tenets of Luther—Charles sets out for Germany—Character of Maurice, Duke of Saxony—Council of Trent—Death of Luther—Measures of the Emperor—Diet of Ratisbon—The Members of the League of Smalkalde take arms—The Emperor puts them under the Ban of the Empire—He assembles his Forces—Conduct of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse—Maurice invades the Elector's Dominions—The Forces of the Confederates separate—Many submit to Charles—Jealousy of the Pope—Opportune Death of Francis—Charles defeats and makes Prisoner the Elector of Saxony, whose Territories and Dignity are transferred to Maurice—Perfidy of Charles to the Landgrave of Hesse—The City of Magdeburg resists the Interim—Unsuccessful Project of Charles to transmit the Imperial Crown to his Son—Conduct of Maurice—He reconciles himself to the Protestants—Forms a League against the Emperor—His Artifices—Suddenly takes Arms in Conjunction with France—Consents to a Conference with the King of the Romans at Lintz—Nearly surprises the Emperor at Inspruck—Negociations and Treaty of Passau.

THOUGH it certainly was not without reluctance that Charles had consented to part with the Milanese, which he had acquired at such a vast expence of blood and treasure, yet he would probably have punctually fulfilled the treaty of Crespy, and he

he had already declared his intention of giving the daughter of Ferdinand in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, when he was spared the mortification of surrendering so rich a part of his Italian dominions, by an event as opportune as it was unexpected. In the flower of his age, the Duke of Orleans was suddenly attacked by a malignant fever; his death released Charles from his engagements; nor would he listen to any proposal from Francis, who in vain solicited for some reparation for the advantages he had lost by the demise of his son; in consequence of his refusal, the French King kept possession of the territories that he had wrested from the Duke of Savoy, who arraigned the ingratitude, without shaking the resolution, of his Imperial ally.

The public articles of the treaty of Crespy have already been enumerated; but it was a private condition, which it was deemed prudent to conceal, that chiefly influenced the Emperor to sign the peace; and Charles and Francis solemnly, though secretly, confederated to exert their power in exterminating the Protestant heresy. The Spaniards, austere and bigoted, enamoured of the pomp of the Romish church, by nature little inclined to theological disquisition, and by policy severely restrained by the vigilant rigour of the inquisition, never imbibed the doctrines of Luther; yet so various were the dominions their sovereigns possessed, that under three successive princes it was their fate to be involved in bloody and incessant wars to oppose the progress of the reformation; and in the fruitless conflict, their grandeur was broken, and their strength exhausted.

Even while the reins were held by the vigorous hand of Charles, they felt, in some measure, the evils which arose from his divided attention; that prince had been confined some time by the gout at Brussels; but no sooner did his health allow him to travel, than he set out for Germany, to preside in the

the Diet of Worms. He found the Protestants still more than ever averse to a coalition with the church of Rome, and still more jealous of his designs.— But they were far from being united in their efforts; at the head of the League of Smalkalde still remained the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse; but the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, who, with the title of Duke, governed that part of Saxony which belonged to the Albertine branch of the Saxon family, though they professed themselves sincerely attached to the tenets of Luther, had refused to accede to the confederacy of their Protestant brethren.

Though only in his twenty-fourth year, Maurice had already begun to discover those great talents which qualified him for acting such a distinguished part in the affairs of Germany. He had early courted the favour of the Emperor with the utmost assiduity; had led to his assistance, during the last campaign, a body of his own troops; and by the gracefulness of his person, his dexterity in all military exercises, his intrepidity and insinuating address, had gained the confidence and favour of Charles. As his penetration convinced him of the approaching rupture between the Emperor and the confederates of Smalkalde, and equally enabled him to discern which party would prevail, he continued his attentions to the former with an increase of zeal; he was probably further stimulated to this, by the jealousy he had entertained of his cousin the Elector of Saxony; soon after Maurice's accession to government, they had both taken arms for the right of jurisdiction over an obscure town on the Moldaw. But they were prevented from proceeding to action by the mediation of the Landgrave of Hesse, whose daughter Maurice had married, as well as by the powerful and authoritative admonitions of Luther.

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But the subject of dispute still remained impressed on the mind of Maurice; and when the Emperor in the Diet of Worms demanded of the Protestants to acknowledge the decisions of the council of Trent which the Pope had summoned, soon after the treaty of Crespy, while the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse disclaimed all connexion with that assembly, Maurice alone, separating himself from his Protestant brethren, seemed inclined to accede to the wishes of his sovereign.

A. D. 1546. Though the Emperor still endeavoured to conceal his designs, and to delude the reformed by the professions of amity, yet all foresaw the tempest that impended over their heads. The death of Luther, at this critical juncture, served to depress the spirits of his party; that wonderful man, though in a declining state of health, and during a rigorous season, having undertaken a journey to his native city of Eisleban, to compose, by his authority, a dissension among the counts of Mansfield, he was seized with a violent inflammation in his stomach, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the sixty-third year of his age, and preserved him from the mortification of beholding the humiliation of the tenets he had inculcated. The account of his decease filled the Catholic party with indecent joy; even the Emperor himself could not entirely conceal his satisfaction; and encouraged by the event, he applied himself with redoubled ardour to exterminate the doctrines which the hand of Luther had planted.

By a long series of artifice and fallacy, he had gained so much time, that his measures, though not altogether ripe for execution, were in great forwardness. He had concluded a truce for five years with the Ottoman Porte; the chief article of which was, that each should retain possession of what he held in Hungary; he had assembled a considerable

ble body of forces in the Low Countries, and while he had artfully and silently fomented the private jealousies of the Protestants, he had used his utmost address to attach to himself the Catholic princes of Germany.

Thus prepared, he summoned the Diet to Ratisbon; the majority of the Roman Catholic members appeared in person, but most of the Protestants, apprehensive of violence, sent only deputies. The Emperor opened the meeting, by professing his regard for the prosperity of the Germanic body; by lamenting the unhappy dissensions about religion, and the ill success of his endeavours to compose them, and craved their advice with regard to the best and most effectual method of restoring union to the churches in Germany. By this gracious appearance of consulting the members, he avoided discovering his own sentiments, nor was he less sure of such a decision as he wished to obtain. The Roman Catholic members joined immediately in representing that the authority of the Council of Trent ought to be supreme in all matters of controversy; the feeble memorial of the Protestants was scarcely read; and Charles, sanctioned by a decree of the Diet, commanded the troops he had raised in the Low Countries to advance towards Germany, pushed on his new levies with vigour, and signed a treaty with the Pope, by which the latter agreed to furnish him, for the extirpation of heresy, with an army of twelve thousand foot, and five hundred horse.

The Protestants, from such formidable armaments, could no longer doubt of his intentions; they determined to prepare for their own defence; though their applications to the Venetians and the Swiss, to Henry and Francis, had proved fruitless, though many of their own members were intimidated by the weight of Imperial power, yet such were
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the resources of the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Princes of Anhalt, and the Imperial cities of Augsbourg, Ulm and Strasbourg, that in a few weeks they were enabled to assemble an army of seventy thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, provided with a train of an hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, eight hundred ammunition waggons, eight thousand beasts of burden, and six thousand pioneers.

Had they immediately advanced, they must have overwhelmed Charles, shut up in Ratisbon with only three thousand Spanish troops, and about five thousand Germans, who had joined him from different parts of the empire. But they could not think of throwing off their allegiance, without one solemn appeal more to his candour, and to the impartial judgment of their fellow subjects. To the Emperor they addressed a letter, to the inhabitants of Germany a manifesto; the tenor of both was the same; they represented their own conduct, with regard to civil affairs, as dutiful and submissive; they asserted religion to be the sole cause of the violence that was meditated against them; and they declared their own resolution to risk every thing in maintenance of their religious rights, and foretold the dissolution of the German constitution, if their enemies should finally prevail against them.

The only reply of Charles to their letter and manifesto was, by publishing the ban of the empire against the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, and all who should dare to assist them. The confederates perceiving all hopes of accommodation at an end, sent an herald to the Imperial camp, with a solemn declaration of war, and formally renounced their homage to Charles.

But the Emperor had profited by their hesitation; from Ratisbon he had removed to Landshut

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on the Ifar, where he was joined by the troops which Paul had stipulated to furnish, and by six thousand Spaniards of the veteran bands usually stationed in Naples. With these, which swelled his army to thirty-six thousand men, still more formidable for their discipline and their valour than their numbers, he continued his march to Ingoldstadt, on the Danube; but his camp was not yet fortified, when he was informed of the approach of the confederates.

The Protestants found the Imperialists covered only by a slight entrenchment; in front stretched a plain of such extent, as afforded sufficient space for drawing out their whole army, and bringing it to act at once; and the Landgrave of Hesse, by nature impetuous and enterprising, wished to have embraced the opportunity, and to have decided by a general action the fate of the two parties; but the Elector of Saxony, though intrepid in his own person to excess, was slow in deliberating, and still more irresolute in his determinations; he urged the danger of attacking such a body of veterans, animated by the presence of the Emperor, and on ground which they themselves had chosen. While he hesitated, the moment for action was suffered to elapse; and when the confederates advanced next morning, they beheld the Imperialists strongly fortified by new works.

A reinforcement of ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse, which the Count of Buren had conducted from the Low Countries, did not change the determination of Charles to wait within his lines, until the jealousies and necessities of the Protestants should dissolve their force. He was confirmed in this plan by the secret league he had concluded with Maurice of Saxony. The commencement of hostilities had opened fresh prospects of ambition to the latter, and he had engaged to con-

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cur in assisting the Emperor, on condition that he should be invested with the spoils of his kinsman the Elector; so perfect a master was he in dissimulation, that the confederates had never suspected his plan; and it was with the utmost astonishment the Elector received the intelligence, that Maurice, in obedience to the Imperial orders, had burst into his dominions, and with the exception of Wittemberg, Gotha, and Eisenach, had made himself master of the whole electorate.

Though the hopes of the Protestants depended on their keeping their main army entire, yet so urgent was the Elector to march to the relief of his subjects, that the confederates could not resist his importunities; he pressed forwards with a considerable body towards Saxony; his departure was the signal of general separation; and the soldiers, under their respective leaders, returned into their own countries.

A. D. 1547. No sooner did the Emperor behold that vast host which had so long menaced him dissolved, than, regardless of the severity of the season, in the depth of winter he put his troops in motion; the terror of his approach insured submission; the Duke of Wurtemburgh, the cities of Ulm, Augsburgh, and Strasburgh, consented to purchase their pardon by the payment of immense fines; that of the Duke of Wurtemburgh was fixed at three hundred thousand crowns; and it was augmented by the humiliating circumstance of being obliged to implore the mercy of the Emperor on his knees.

While Charles thus rigidly employed the moments of victory, his ally Maurice dreaded in his capital of Dresden the punishment of his perfidy. Incapable of withstanding in the field the superior forces of the Elector, he had not only lost his late acquisitions, but beheld himself stripped of his own territories;

territories; while his couriers vainly represented his dangerous situation, and implored the Emperor to march to his relief.

That relief Charles was incapable of imparting; in the first moment of victory, considering the Spaniards, the Germans, and the papal forces, sufficient to crush any further resistance, he had dismissed, from motives of oeconomy, his Flemish troops; but the rapid success of the Emperor had opened the eyes of Paul; those fears which he had entertained for the supremacy of the papal see, he now cherished for the independence of Italy; and he suddenly recalled his forces. At the same time, Charles was informed that his ancient rival Francis had entered into negotiations with the confederates; had renewed his intrigues with the Sultan and the King of England; and was preparing to pour again the torrent of his arms on Italy.

From that danger which he beheld, but knew not how to avert, he was preserved by that good fortune so remarkably propitious to his family, that some historians have called it the *Star of the House of Austria*. Francis died at Rambouillet on the last day of March, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign; by this event the Emperor was freed from the disquietude he laboured under; and no sooner was he informed of it, than he began his march from Egra on the borders of Bohemia, and pushing forward with incredible ardour, beheld the Saxons posted near Muhlberg, on the opposite banks of the Elbe.

The Imperial army consisted but of sixteen thousand men; but these were chiefly the hardy veterans of Spain and Italy, long accustomed to victory; and at their head, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Maurice, and the Duke of Alva, the Emperor, impatient to terminate the contest, resolved to cross the Elbe, though above three hundred paces in breadth and four in depth. He executed

executed this daring project with equal courage and success; mounted on a Spanish horse, dressed in a sumptuous habit, and with a javelin in his hand, he led his cavalry in person. Their united efforts broke the violence of the stream; they charged and put to flight the guards on the opposite bank; and, animated by the spirit of their Imperial leader, rushed forward to encounter the Saxon army, which was encamped at a small distance.

During these operations, the Elector had remained inactive; but no sooner was he informed that the Imperialists had passed the Elbe, than he gave orders to retreat to Wittemberg. The troops had scarce begun to march, when the van of the enemy appeared in view; and the Elector saw an engagement was unavoidable. As he was no less bold in action than irresolute in council, he made his disposition with the greatest presence of mind and in the most advantageous manner. But his soldiers were already vanquished in their own fears; and the shock would not have been doubtful, if the personal courage of the Elector had not revived the spirit of his troops in the part where he fought.—But Charles led the flower of the Imperial army; who, sensible they combated under the eye of their sovereign, charged with redoubled fury. The Saxons fled; the Elector, wounded in the face, and exhausted with fatigue, surrendered himself a prisoner; and after enduring the reproaches of the Emperor, with an unaltered countenance, which discovered neither astonishment nor dejection, accompanied the Spanish soldiers appointed to guard him.

Undismayed by the disaster, his magnanimous consort, Sybilla, aspired to defend his capital of Wittemberg; but she yielded to the menace that her resistance would be immediately fatal to the life of her husband. Her solicitations prevailed on the Elector to sign the articles which Charles had dictated;

tated ; by these the former resigned the electoral dignity for himself and his posterity, to be disposed of according to the Emperor's pleasure ; in return he was to receive the city of Gotha and its territories, with a pension of fifty thousand florins ; but he was to continue the prisoner of the victor during his life, and Charles had even subjoined the condition that he should submit to the decrees of the Pope and council in whatever regarded religion ; but the last article was rejected by the Elector with inflexible constancy ; and though he had agreed to sacrifice those objects which men commonly hold most dear, nothing could persuade him to act in opposition to the dictates of his conscience.

As soon as the Saxon garrison marched out of Wittemberg, that city, as well as the electorate, was delivered to Maurice. Of the chiefs who had formed the league of Smalkalde, the Landgrave of Hesse remained alone in arms ; but his spirit had been broken by the scene which he had witnessed ; he compared his own weakness with the power of his adversary ; and he consented to accept his son-in-law Maurice, and the Elector of Brandenburg, as mediators between himself and the Emperor. He was required to surrender his person and his territories ; to implore pardon on his knees ; to pay an hundred and fifty thousand crowns towards the expences of the war ; and to demolish the fortifications of all the towns in his dominions. But though Charles would suffer nothing to be added which should restrain him from behaving as he pleased to a prince whom he considered as absolutely at his disposal, he gave such assurances to the Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice, that the Landgrave, after having made his submission, should be at liberty to return into his own territories, that, to allay the suspicions of the latter, they sent him a bond, containing the most solemn obligations, that if any

violence was offered to his person during his interview with the Emperor, they would surreptitiously themselves to his sons to be treated in the same manner as Charles should treat him.

Encouraged by this assurance, the Landgrave repaired to the Imperial camp at Hall in Saxony; and submitted to the humiliating ceremony he had engaged to perform. But instead of being permitted to withdraw, he was committed to the custody of a Spanish guard. Astonished at so unworthy a fraud, he gave way to all the violence of rage, and charged the Elector and Maurice with having concurred in the dishonourable plan. They protested their innocence, and soothed him with the hope that as soon as they saw the Emperor they would obtain redress of the injury. But they had the mortification to find, that as Charles no longer stood in need of their services, he paid little regard to their intercession. He told them coldly, that he was ignorant of their private transactions with the Landgrave, though he well knew what he himself had promised, which was not that the Landgrave should be exempt from all restraint, but that he should not be kept a prisoner during life. Nor could all their intreaties prevail on him to depart from this resolution.

Having thus dispersed his enemies in the field, Charles directed his attention to allay the religious dissensions in Germany. But he found the Pope no longer inclined to act in conjunction with him on this occasion. Paul had opened his eyes to the danger which impended over the papal see from the increasing grandeur of the Emperor; he had first removed the council of Trent to Bologna, and afterwards dissolved it; but Charles, elated with victory, was not deterred by his secession; he summoned a Diet at Augsburg, and having informed the members of the conduct of the Pope, he presented to them a system of doctrine which had been prepared by his orders,

orders, on which he bestowed the name of the *Interim*, and to which he expected all should conform.

The *Interim* was almost in every article conformable to the tenets of the Roman church; yet as it was drawn up rather to allude than command the Protestants, it met with the real approbation of neither party. The reformed considered it as pregnant with the grossest errors of popery; the Papists inveighed against it as meanly concealing those doctrines which it should openly have enforced. Yet such was the dread of the Emperor's power, that it was received in the Diet with little opposition.

But if that Assembly was silent, the Imperial cities freely avowed their detestation of the principles it contained; though Augsburg, Ulm, and Strasbourg had been constrained to yield obedience, Magdeburg, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck still continued refractory. Their opposition, however, appeared to Charles too feeble to occasion any serious alarm; and in the fond hope that he had broken the stubborn spirits of the Germans, he set out for the Netherlands to meet his son Philip, whom he had sent for from Spain.

It was not only the motives of paternal affection that had influenced Charles to this interview with his son; his mind, intoxicated with success, was intent on schemes vast and chimerical; and no sooner was he relieved from a violent fit of the gout, which had detained him longer than he intended in the Netherlands, than, accompanied by Philip, he returned to Germany.

The death of Paul, and the succession of Julius the Third to the Apostolic chair, promised to smooth the difficulties which the Emperor had hitherto encountered in his attempt to subject the principles of the Protestants; but it was not religion alone that engrossed his thoughts; his victory over the Smalcaldic league had rendered the Imperial power

nearly despotie; and he cherished the hope that he might perpetuate it in his family, by transmitting to his son the German empire, together with the kingdoms of Spain, and his dominions in Italy and the Low Countries.

But the obstacles that opposed his plan were numerous. He had assisted in procuring the dignity of the King of the Romans for his brother Ferdinand, who not only refused to accede to a plan which would have degraded him from the highest rank among the monarchs of Europe, to that of a subordinate and dependent prince; but ever after viewed the conduct of Charles with jealousy. — The Emperor still flattered himself that he might attain the object, by prevailing on the electors to substitute Philip in succession to Ferdinand. But the Germans were disgusted with the reserve and haughty manners of the nephew, so distant from the affability of the uncle; they were awakened to the inconveniences of having placed at the head of the empire, a monarch whose power and dominions were so extensive; and so evident was their disapprobation of the measure, that Charles, notwithstanding the reluctance with which he gave up any point, was obliged to drop the scheme as impracticable, and to send back Philip to Spain.

Disappointed in this project, Charles resumed his former care of compelling all Germany to an uniformity in religion; for this purpose, he enforced with greater rigour the Interim, and used all his influence to persuade the Protestants to send deputies to the council which Julius had re-assembled at Trent; nor could he have failed of success, if Maurice of Saxony had not begun at this time to disclose new intentions; and to act a part very different from that which he had so long assumed.

Having raised himself to the electoral dignity; and having added the dominions of the elder branch of the

the Saxon family, in his own, he was become the most powerful prince in Germany. He saw the yoke that was preparing for his country, and was convinced that but a few steps more remained to render Charles absolute. Notwithstanding the conduct he had observed, he was sincerely attached to the Lutheran tenets, and the more he had been exalted, the more did he dread the thoughts of descending from the rank of a prince, almost independent, to that of a vassal subject to the commands of a master.

He was therefore no sooner invested with the spoils of his degraded kinsman, than he resolved to secure them from the ambition of Charles, whose views he was well acquainted with, and more firmly to establish a religion, the exercise of which he had contributed to restrain.

In the execution of this enterprise, he formed and conducted an intricate plan of policy, which deceived the most artful prince in Europe, and while he professed himself the obsequious servant of Imperial power, he insinuated himself into the confidence, and attained an unequalled ascendancy over the minds of those whom he had lately afflicted with all the calamities of war. To gratify the Emperor, he prevailed on his own subjects to adopt the Interim, but he recovered the esteem of the Lutherans, by boldly protesting against the authority of the council of Trent, unless the divines of the reformed were admitted to a full hearing, and the Pope renounced his pretensions to preside in that assembly; yet the boldness of these demands seemed not to have awakened the jealousy of the Emperor; and when an army was assembled to enforce the submission of the citizens of Magdeburg to the Interim, Charles approved of the recommendation of the Diet, which pointed out Maurice as the most proper general.

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In accepting the command, Maurice again revived the fears and clamours of the Protestants; but though he formed the siege of Magdeburg, he was far from pushing it with vigour. He held private conferences with Count Mansfeld, who was governor of the town, and with Count Heideck, an officer who had served with great reputation in the league of Smalkalde; he availed himself of their influence; he gave them secret assurances that the fortifications of Magdeburg should not be destroyed, nor the inhabitants molested in the exercise of their religion; these conditions, on taking possession of the town, he punctually observed; and the citizens, in return, elected him their burgrave, a dignity which entitled him to ample jurisdiction, not only in Magdeburg, but in its dependencies.

During the interval of the siege, Maurice had silently extended his negotiations to Henry, who had succeeded to the throne of France; that monarch, who inherited his father's jealousy of the designs of the Emperor, readily concurred in defending the liberties of Germany; and not only furnished the confederates with a considerable sum of money, but promised, as soon as they should take up arms, he would attack Charles on the side of Lorraine.

Amidst all these intrigues, Maurice held a close correspondence with the Imperial court at Inspruck, and renewed on every occasion his professions not only of fidelity but of attachment to the Emperor; he talked continually of his intention of going to Inspruck in person; he gave orders to hire a house for him in that city, and to be fitted up with the greatest dispatch.

Yet profoundly skilled as he was in the arts of deceit, some circumstances could not but excite the doubts of the Emperor and his ministers. The soldiers who had served under his standard, in the siege of Magdeburgh, had passed into the service of
George

George of Miltzenburg, and lived at discretion on the lands of the rich ecclesiastics in Thuringia. They had been represented to Charles as a body of men kept in readiness for some desperate enterprise; yet whatever might be the disapprobation of the latter to their conduct, his incapacity to discharge their arrears, and disband them, obliged him to pass over in silence their irregularities.

The gout also at this time had returned on Charles with an increase of violence, and he was no longer able to attend to affairs with his usual vigilance and penetration; and Granvelle his prime minister, though one of the most subtle statesmen of the age, was on this occasion the dupe of his own craft; he had bribed two of Maurice's secretaries to give him minute information concerning their master's motions; but Maurice had fortunately discovered their treason, and turned his own arms against the Bishop. He affected to treat these traitors with greater confidence than ever; but he imparted to them only what he wished should be known; and the accounts they transmitted were such as possessed Granvelle with a firm belief of his sincerity and good intentions.

At last his preparations were complete; A. D. 1552. and having dispatched a messenger to assure the Emperor that he would be at Inspruck in a few days, he joined the army in Thuringia, which amounted to twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and put it immediately in motion.

At the same time, he published a manifesto, containing his reasons for taking up arms; these were, that he might secure the Protestant religion; that he might maintain the laws of the empire; and that he might deliver the Landgrave of Hesse from the miseries of a long and unjust imprisonment. He advanced by rapid marches towards the Upper Germany; all the towns opened their gates on his appearance; he restored the magistrates whom the Emperor

Emperor had deposed; gave possession of the churches to the Protestant ministers whom he had ejected; and entered Augsburg amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

At the moment that Maurice unfurled the standard of civil and religious freedom, Henry, who assumed the extraordinary title of *protector of the liberties of Germany, and its captive princes*, deluged Lorrain with his forces, and planted the banners of France on the walls of Toul, Verdun, and Metz.

No words can express the Emperor's astonishment and consternation at events so unexpected.—He saw a number of the German princes in arms against him, united in league with a powerful monarch, who seconded their operations, at the head of a formidable army; while he, from negligence or credulity, was neither in a condition for crushing his rebellious subjects, or resisting the invasion of the foreign enemy. Part of his Spanish troops had been ordered into Hungary against the Turks; the rest had marched back to Italy; the bands of veteran Germans had been dismissed, or had entered into the service of Maurice; and he remained at Inspruck with a body of soldiers, hardly strong enough to guard his own person. His treasury was as much exhausted as his army was reduced; he had received no remittances for some time from the new world; and he had forfeited all credit with the merchants of Genoa and Venice. In this situation, he placed all his hopes on negotiation; to avoid making himself the first advances to his revolted subjects, he employed the mediation of his brother Ferdinand; and Maurice leaving his army to proceed under the Duke of Mecklenburg, readily consented to meet the King of the Romans at Lintz in Austria.

The conference at Lintz produced not any accommodation; but Maurice professed so strong an inclination

inclination to terminate the differences with the Emperor in an amicable manner; that Ferdinand proposed a second interview at Passau, on the twenty-sixth of May, and that a truce should commence on that day, and continue to the tenth of June.

To this Maurice having acceded, rejoined his army, which had advanced to the neighbourhood of Ulm; as sixteen days remained for action, before the commencement of the truce, he resolved on an enterprise, which, if successful, would entitle him to treat on his own terms. He doubted not, on the near prospect of a cessation of arms, that the Emperor would, in some measure, relapse into his former security; and relying on this conjecture, he, with the utmost rapidity, pressed forwards to Inspruck. Eight hundred Imperialists, who had been posted at Fiefla to defend the entrance of the Tyrol, were broken by the vigour of his charge; by an unknown path he climbed, and possessed himself of the strong castle of Ehrenberg, situated on a high and steep precipice, which commanded the passage through mountains; but when he had forced his way within two days march of Inspruck, a battalion of mercenaries mutinied; and though they were at length appeased by the influence of Maurice, the delay proved fatal to the enterprise.

It was late in the evening, when the Emperor was informed of his approaching danger; and sensible that nothing could save him but a speedy flight, he instantly left Inspruck, without regarding the darkness of the night, or the violence of the rain. Notwithstanding the debility occasioned by the gout which rendered him unable to bear any motion but that of a litter, he travelled by the light of torches, taking his way through the Alps by roads almost impassable. His courtiers followed, some on horseback, many on foot, and all in the utmost confusion. In this miserable plight, very unlike the pomp with which

which Charles had appeared during the five preceding years, as the conqueror of Germany, he at length arrived with his dejected train at Villach in Carinthia, and scarcely thought himself secure even in that remote corner.

Before Charles left Inspruck, he had withdrawn the guards placed on the degraded Elector of Saxony, probably with the hope of embarrassing Maurice by a rival who might dispute his title to his dominions and dignity; but that prince abhorring the thoughts of falling into the hands of a kinsman, whom he justly considered as the author of all his misfortunes, chose rather to accompany the Emperor in his flight.

Maurice entered Inspruck a few hours after Charles and his attendants had left it; enraged that his prey had escaped him, he abandoned the royal baggage to be plundered by his soldiers; and as there now remained only three days to the commencement of the truce, he set out for Passau to meet Ferdinand according to appointment.

Notwithstanding his rapid and brilliant success, Maurice was sensible that however slow the motions of Charles might be, he must at last act with vigour proportioned to the extent of his power and territories; and he could scarcely hope that a confederacy composed of so many members, could operate with unanimity sufficient to resist an absolute prince, accustomed to command and conquer. If this filled him with apprehensions for the common cause, another circumstance gave him no less disquiet for his own particular interests.—By repealing the act which had deprived his kinsman of his hereditary honours and dominions, Charles would endanger all he had acquired, at the expense of so much dissimulation and artifice. Those combined considerations strongly influenced him to secure the advantages he had obtained by treaty, while the motives which prompted

and the Emperor to an accommodation, were not fewer nor less weighty. He was conscious of the superiority which the confederates had acquired through his own negligence; and he now felt the insufficiency of his resources to oppose them. His Spanish subjects, disgusted at his long absence, and weary of endless wars, which were of little benefit to their country, refused to furnish him with any considerable supply either of men or money. His treasury was drained, his veteran forces were dispersed or disbanded. While the confederates found full employment for his arms in one quarter, he dreaded lest the King of France should seize the favourable opportunity, and push on his operations in another; nor had he less reason to apprehend the hostile armaments of Solymán, who, roused by the solicitations of Henry, had already prepared a powerful fleet to ravage the defenceless coasts of Naples and Sicily.

Thus, though Charles and Maurice exerted at first all that finesse in negotiation for which they were so eminently distinguished, they soon came to a more perfect understanding; and under the mediation of the King of the Romans, the treaty of Passau, which established the Protestant church in Germany, was finally signed. The principal conditions were, that within twelve days, the confederates should lay down their arms, and disband their forces; that on or before the expiration of that term, the Landgrave of Hesse should be set at liberty, and conveyed in safety to the castle of Rheinfels; that a Diet should be held within six months, in order to deliberate concerning the most effectual method of preventing for the future all religious dissensions; that in the mean time neither the Emperor, nor any other Prince, should offer any violence to the reformed; that in return, the Protestants should not molest the Catholics in the exercise

exercise of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or religious ceremonies; that the Imperial chamber should administer justice impartially to persons of both parties; and Protestants should be admitted indiscriminately with the Catholics to sit as judges in that court. That if the next Diet should not be able to terminate the disputes with regard to religion, the stipulations in the present treaty, in behalf of the Protestants, should continue for ever in full force; that none of the confederates should be liable to any action on account of what had happened during the war; and that the consideration of those encroachments which had been made upon the constitution and liberties of the empire, should be remitted to the approaching Diet.

CHAPTER XVI.

Preparations against France—Siege of Metz—Gallant Defence of the Duke of Guise—The Imperialists are obliged to raise the siege—Mortification of Charles—Revolt of the Siennese—Death of Maurice of Saxony—The Emperor invades Picardy—Takes Terouenne and Hesdin—Negociates the Marriage of his son Philip with Mary Queen of England—The French ravage Hainault, Leige, and Artois—Charles marches to the Defence of Renti—Avoids a decisive Engagement—The French are compelled to retreat for want of subsistence—Charles lays waste Picardy—Recovers in Italy Sienna—Unsuccessful Attempt on Metz—Death of Pope Julius the Third—Is succeeded by Cardinal Caraffa—The Emperor proclaims his Resolution to retire from public Life—His obvious Motives—Resigns the Netherlands, Spain, &c. to his son Philip—Concludes a Truce with France for five Years—Relinquishes the Imperial Dignity to his Brother Ferdinand—Retires to Spain—Description of the Monastery of St. Justins, the place of his Retreat—Account of his Conduct in Retirement—His Death—His Character—Effects of his Administration on the Constitution of Castille.

IN the treaty of Paffau, the German A.D. 1552.
Princes, attentive alone to their own concerns, seemed scarcely to remember how much they were indebted for their success to Henry; his name was only mentioned in a short clause, which imported

imported that he might communicate to the confederates his particular causes of hostility, and they would lay them before the Emperor; Henry experienced the same treatment which every prince who assists the authors of a civil war may naturally expect; and it was not long before he beheld himself singly exposed to the resentment and united strength of Charles.

The loss of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, had deeply impressed the mind of the Emperor; emerging from his inglorious retreat at Villach, he assembled at Augsbourg the forces of Germany, Italy, and Spain; to deceive the French, he pretended to direct his march towards Hungary, to check the progress of the Infidels; but suddenly turning to the right, and being joined by Albert of Brandenburg, who availing himself of the public commotions, had ravaged with impartial rapacity the territories of both parties, at the head of eighty thousand men, he invested the city of Metz.

The King of France had early penetrated his intentions; he had provided, with alacrity and vigour for the defence of his late acquisitions; and had nominated to the command of Metz, Francis, Duke of Guise. That nobleman possessed in an eminent degree all the talents of courage, sagacity, and presence of mind, which fitted him for so important a Trust. Ambitious of fame, by splendid and daring achievements, he hastened with joy to the dangerous station that was assigned him. He diligently repaired the old fortifications, and skillfully erected new ones. He destroyed the suburbs that might favour the approaches of the enemy; and he wasted for several miles round the country whence they hoped to draw their subsistence.

Neither these pretensions, the demonstrations of his generals the Duke of Alva, and the Marquis of Marguano, nor the advanced state of the season, which

which already drew near to the end of October, could change the inflexible resolution of Charles; though in a sally from the town, his vanguard had been routed, he still persevered with his wonted obstinacy in his design; the trenches were opened, and the siege pushed on with vigour; but after the labour of three weeks, the besiegers beheld, with astonishment, new works appear, in the demolishing of which their fatigues and dangers would be renewed. Enraged at the little progress they had made, the Emperor left Thionville, where he had been confined by a violent fit of the gout, and though still so infirm that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he repaired to the camp, that by his presence he might animate the soldiers, and urge on the attack with greater spirit.

He came only to increase the triumph of his enemies; his efforts and ardour were opposed by the inclemency of the season. The winter set in with unusual rigour; in little more than a month from the commencement of the siege, the camp of the Imperialists was alternately deluged with rain, or covered with snow; the Spaniards and Italians, accustomed to more genial climates, sunk the victims of cold and disease; the troops throughout, torpid and dispirited, were no longer to be roused by the voice of their leaders. When commanded to advance to the breach, they stood motionless in dejected silence; and the indignant Emperor retired to his tent, complaining that he was deserted by his soldiers, who no longer deserved the name of men. Yet deeply mortified as he was at the behaviour of his army, he would not hear of abandoning the siege; he changed the manner of attack, suspended the fury of his batteries, and proceeded by the more tedious method of sapping.—But as it still continued to rain and snow almost incessantly, such as were employed in this service endured incredible hardships; and the Duke of Guise, whose industry was not inferior to his valour, discovered all

all the mines, and prevented their effect. At last Charles finding it impossible to contend any longer with the severity of the season, and enemies equally prepared against force or art, and having beheld great part of his soldiers and officers daily perish by a pestilential disease, that raged through the camp, yielded to the sollicitations of his generals, and gave the signal for retreat. As he reluctantly issued the orders, "fortune," exclaimed he, "I now perceive resembles other females, and chooses to confer her favours on young men, while she forsakes those who are advanced in years."

The reverse he had experienced, might well inspire the mortifying reflection; his army was reduced to less than half its original number, when necessity compelled him to begin his retreat towards Germany. Shame and terror hung upon his rear; and his fainting steps were traced by the sick, the wounded and the dead. In all the different roads by which the army retired, numbers were found, who, having made an effort to escape beyond their strength, were left, when they could go no further, to the mercy of their adversaries. That mercy they found from the Duke of Guise, whose enmity was vanquished by the scene of misery, and who scorned to trample on a foe, no longer capable of resistance. His care and liberality were exerted to heal the wounded, and to restore the famished; as soon as they recovered, he sent them home, under an escort of soldiers, and with money to bear their charges; and the courage which he had displayed in the siege, was exceeded by the humanity which he exercised in the pursuit.

The misfortunes of Charles were not confined to Germany. In Italy, the Siennese threw off the Imperial yoke, and placed themselves under the protection of the French; while Solymán, the powerful,

erful, but dishonourable, ally of the Christian King, filled the Mediterranean with his fleets; struck terror through the city of Naples; and had the operations of the Ottomans been seconded by the armaments of Henry, that city must once more have acknowledged the dominion of a foreign master.

In the Netherlands, Charles indulged those gloomy sensations which disappointed ambition inspires; yet if vengeance was dear to him, he might feel some satisfaction at the premature and violent death of Maurice of Saxony. The ravages of Albert of Brandenburg, after the siege of Metz, had compelled the Princes of Germany to form a league, of which Maurice was declared chief. At Sieverhausen, in the Dutchy of Luxemburgh, at the head of twenty-four thousand men, he encountered his adversary with equal force. The conflict was long and bloody; and it was not until after repeated efforts, that victory declared for Maurice; but as he himself led up to a second charge a body of horse, which had been broken, he received a wound from a pistol-bullet, of which he died two days after the battle.

His death made no alteration in the situation of the Protestants; all the great schemes which had engrossed Charles so long concerning Germany, had been disconcerted by the peace of Passau; the affairs of the empire became only secondary objects of attention; and enmity to France was the predominant passion which occupied his mind. To gratify this, and to efface the stain which the repulse at Metz had fixed on his arms, he laid siege to Terouenne; and pushed his attacks with such vigour and perseverance, that the place was taken by assault. The Imperial army, under the command of Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, who already began to display those talents by which he was afterwards so eminently distinguished, next in-

vested Hefdin; and its walls, though defended with bravery, could not long resist the ardour of the assailants.

The loss of these cities was severely felt by Henry, who in person with a numerous army, had advanced to check the progress of Philibert; the approach of such an adversary roused Charles from the couch of sickness; he quitted Brussels, where he had been confined above seven months by the gout, and though he could hardly bear the motion of a litter, he hastened to join his forces. The eyes of all Europe were turned with expectation on those mighty and exasperated rivals, between whom a decisive battle was now thought unavoidable; but Charles having prudently declined to hazard a general engagement, and the violence of the autumnal rains rendering it impossible to undertake any siege, the French retired, without having performed any thing suitable to their vast preparations.

A. D. 1553.
1554. The death of Edward the Sixth of England, afforded Charles a new theatre to display his ambition on. His son Philip was become a widower; and by the marriage of that prince with Mary, who inherited Edward's crown, he hoped to add England to his other dominions. Had his son declined the intended match, so strong was the desire of acquisition, that Charles was determined to have proposed himself; but Philip, though only in his twenty-seventh year, readily consented to espouse a princess older than himself by eleven years, and destitute of every charm either of person or manners that could win affection, or command esteem. Mary herself met the proposal with so much ardour as overwhelmed the reluctance of her subjects. By the articles of marriage it was, however, agreed, that though Philip should bear the title of King, the entire administration of affairs,

airs, as well as the sole disposal of all revenues, offices, and benefices, should remain with the Queen; that their issue should, together with the Crown of England, inherit the Duchy of Burgundy, and the Low Countries; that if Prince Charles, Philip's only son by his former marriage, should die without offspring, his children by the Queen, whether male or female, should succeed to the crown of Spain, and all the Emperor's hereditary dominions; that before the consummation of the marriage, Philip should swear solemnly, that he would retain no domestic who was not a subject of the Queen, and would bring no foreigners into the kingdom that might give umbrage to the English; that he would make no alteration in the constitution or laws of England; that he would not carry the Queen, or any of the children born of this marriage, out of the kingdom; that if the Queen should die before him without issue, he would immediately leave the crown to the lawful heir, without claiming any right of administration; and that in consequence of this marriage, England should not be engaged in any war subsisting between France and Spain; but that the alliance between France and England should remain in full force; to all these conditions Charles and his son subscribed, and Philip sailing from Combrunna with a magnificent train, landed in England, and received the hand of Mary.

This accession to the power and influence of the house of Austria, served to increase the jealousy of, without intimidating the French King. He determined to carry on his military operations, both in the Low Countries and Italy, with extraordinary vigour, in order that he might compel Charles to accept of an equitable peace, before his daughter-in-law could surmount the aversion of her subjects to a war on the continent; with three great armies, he ravaged Hai-
A.D. 1544.

nault, Liege, and Artois; reduced Marienburg, took Bouvines and Dinant by assault, and invested Renti. The Emperor, though broken by years, by fatigue, and indisposition, marched to the relief of that place. He was, however, desirous of avoiding a decisive action; but a post, which both armies endeavouring to occupy, brought on an engagement, which proved almost general. The Duke of Guise, who commanded the wing of the French which sustained the attack of the enemy, displayed valour and conduct worthy the defender of Metz. The Imperialists, after an obstinate struggle, were repulsed; and if the constable, either from his natural caution, or from reluctance to support a rival whom he hated, had not delayed bringing up the main body to second the impression which had already been made, the rout must have been complete; his slowness or envy allowed Charles to regain in safety his camp; the French themselves were soon after obliged to retire, for want of provisions; and the Emperor, on their retreat, entering Picardy, extended his devastations over that province; and revenged the ravages committed in Hainault and Artois.

Fortune seemed to smile upon him once more. In Italy, his general, the Marquis of Marignano, defeated, with the loss of four thousand men, Strozzi, a Florentine exile, who was supported by Henry. The siege of Sienna was instantly formed by the victor; the fate of that city was protracted for some months by the valour of Monluc, who commanded the French; famine at length compelled the Sianese to submit; the terms they obtained were however honourable; and Monluc, with his troops, was allowed to march out with all the honours of war. But in Piedmont, the Duke of Alva, who had boasted, with his wonted arrogance, that he would soon drive the French beyond the mountains,

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was baffled by the skill of the mareschal Briffac; that officer, with troops inferior in number to the Imperialists, not only maintained his ground, but even extended his incursions into that part of the country which had hitherto acknowledged the dominion of the Duke of Savoy.

It was not only on arms that Charles de- A. D. 1555.
 pended; the loss of Metz was still im-
 pressed on his mind; and to recover it, he had entered into an intrigue with Leonard, Father Guardian of a convent of Franciscans in that city; that monk, who had insinuated himself into the esteem and favour of the Duke of Guise, and possessed the confidence of Veilleville, his successor in the government, was tempted by his restless ambition, to form a design for betraying the town to the Imperialists; as he was permitted to converse or correspond with whatever persons he thought fit, he doubted not that he should accomplish his scheme with perfect security. He communicated his intention to the Queen-Dowager of Hungary, who governed the Low Countries in the name of her brother; she approved, and Charles confirmed the approbation of an act of treachery, from which he expected to derive such signal advantage; it was agreed that the Father Guardian should gain his monks to concur in the design; that he should introduce into the convent a certain number of chosen soldiers, disguised in the habit of friars; that the Governor of Thionville should advance, under cover of the night, and attempt to scale the ramparts, and while the garrison should be employed in repelling the attacks, the monks should set fire to the town in several places; the soldiers, who lay concealed, should issue out of the convent, and attack the French in the rear; nor was it doubted that amidst the general terror and confusion that the Imperialists would become masters of the city. As
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a recompense for this service, the Father Guardian stipulated that he should be appointed Bishop of Metz, and ample rewards were promised to each of his monks as should be most active in promoting the enterprise.

But on the very day that was fixed for the execution of the plan, the suspicions of Villeville were awakened by the military preparations of the governor of Thionville, and the frequent resort of the Franciscan friars to that city. He visited the convent, discovered the soldiers, and seized the Father Guardian; apprised of the extent of the scheme, he laid in ambush for the troops that were to march from Thionville; attacked them, unprepared for resistance; and led the greatest part of them in triumph prisoners to Metz.

The disappointment which Charles endured on this occasion was soon augmented by another; Pope Julius the Third expired, and Cardinal Caraffa, the inveterate enemy of the house of Austria, was raised to the papal dignity; but from these events the eyes of Europe were soon turned to one more signal and important; and the attention of mankind was engrossed by the determination of Charles to retire from the cares of public life.

Various conjectures have been entertained concerning the motives which could induce a prince, whose ruling passion had been uniformly the love of sway, at the age of fifty-six, when objects of ambition continue to operate with full force on the mind, and are pursued with the greatest ardour, to take a resolution so singular and unexpected; a rumour of later times has attributed it to the stubborn and aspiring temper of Philip, impatient of controul, and eager for power; but more simple and obvious causes will sufficiently account for the Emperor's conduct. He had been attacked early in life by the gout, and notwithstanding all the precautions

cautions of the most skilful physicians, the violence of the distemper increased as he advanced in age, and the fits became every year more frequent, as well as more severe. Not only the vigour of his constitution was broken, but the faculties of his mind were impaired by the excruciating torments which he endured. Under these circumstances, the government alone of so many kingdoms was a burden more than sufficient; but to push forward and complete the vast schemes, which the ambition of his more active years had formed, or to keep in view and carry on the same great system of policy, extending to every nation in Europe, and connected with the operations of every different court, were functions which so far exceeded his strength, that they oppressed and overwhelmed it; long accustomed to inspect himself every department, it was with reluctance he committed the conduct of affairs to his ministers. He imputed every misfortune which beset him, and every miscarriage that happened, to his inability to execute his resolutions in person; he complained of his hard fortune in being opposed in his declining years to a rival in the full vigour of life; and he prudently determined not to forfeit the fame of his better days, by struggling with a vain obstinacy to retain the reins of government, when he was no longer able to hold them with steadiness, or to guide them with address.

But though Charles had revolved this scheme for several years, and had communicated it to his sisters the Dowager Queen of France and Hungary, who not only approved of his intention, but offered to accompany him in his retreat, yet several things had hitherto prevented his carrying it into execution. He could not think of loading his son with the government of so many kingdoms, until he should attain such maturity of age, as would enable him to sustain that burden. His mother's situation had

had been another obstacle; during near forty years of confinement and incapacity, the administration of Spain had still been carried on jointly, in the name of Joanna and Charles; and such was the fond attachment of the Spaniards to the former, that they would probably have scrupled to recognise Philip as their sovereign, unless she had consented to receive him as her partner in the throne. Her death this year removed the difficulty; while the inclination and talents of Philip for business assured Charles that he might confide in the abilities and diligence of his son. The war with France still occasioned some delay; the Emperor was solicitous to have delivered up his kingdoms in peace; and a negociation for that purpose had been set on foot, in the name of the Queen of England, and under the mediation of Cardinal Pole. But as Henry had discovered no disposition to close with his overtures, and had ever shown an aversion to his proposals, the Emperor resolved no longer to postpone his purpose, in expectation of an event which was as uncertain as it was desirable.

Having recalled Philip from England, Charles prepared to perform this last act of sovereignty with a solemnity suitable to the importance of the transaction. He assembled the states of the Low Countries at Brussels, and on the twenty-fifth of October, he seated himself, for the last time, in the chair of state, on one side of which was placed his son, and on the other his sister the Queen of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, with a splendid retinue of the princes of the empire and the grandees of Spain, standing behind him. The president of the council of Flanders, by his command, explained in a few words his intention in calling this extraordinary meeting of the states; he then read the instrument of resignation, by which Charles surrendered to Philip all his territories in the Low Countries, and
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he required his subjects to serve his son with the same loyalty and zeal which they had manifested during so long a course of years in support of his government.

Charles then rose from his seat, and leaning on the shoulder of the Prince of Orange, because he was unable to stand without support, he addressed himself to the audience, and recounted, without ostentation, all the great things which he had undertaken, and performed since the commencement of his administration. He observed, that from the seventeenth year of his age, he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to publick objects, reserving no portion of his time for the indulgence of ease, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleasure. That either in a pacific or hostile manner he had visited Germany nine times, Spain six times, France four times, Italy seven times, the Low Countries ten times, England twice, Africa as often, and had made eleven voyages by sea.—That while his health permitted him to discharge his duty, he had never shunned labour, nor repined under fatigue. But now that his vigour was exhausted, his growing infirmities admonished him to retire; nor was he so fond of reigning as to retain the sceptre in an impotent hand, which was no longer able to protect his subjects, or to render them happy. That instead of a sovereign worn out with diseases, he gave them one in the prime of life, and already accustomed to govern; he added, that if, during the course of a long administration, he had committed any material error, or amidst the pressure of many and great affairs, he had neglected or injured any of his subjects, he now implored their forgiveness. For his part, he should ever retain a grateful sense of their fidelity and attachment, and should carry the remembrance of it to the place of his retreat as his sweetest consolation.

Then turning towards Philip, he exhorted him to consider the welfare of his people, as the most acceptable testimony of his gratitude for the inheritance that had been that day resigned him. "It is in your power," said he, "by a wise and virtuous administration, to justify the extraordinary proof which I have given of my paternal affection, and to demonstrate that you are worthy of the confidence that I repose in you. Preserve an inviolable regard for religion; maintain the Catholic faith in its purity; let the laws of your country be sacred in your eyes; encroach not on the rights and privileges of your people; and if the time shall ever come when you shall wish to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a son endowed with such qualities that you can resign your sceptre to him, with as much satisfaction as I give up mine to you."

Exhausted with this long address to his subjects and their new sovereign, Charles sunk into his chair; nor could the audience during his discourse refrain from tears; some from admiration of his magnanimity, others softened by the expressions of tenderness towards his son, and of love to his people; and all were affected with the deepest sorrow at losing a prince, who, during his administration, had distinguished the Netherlands, his native country, with particular marks of regard.

A. D. 1556. A few weeks after, in an assembly no less splendid, Charles resigned to his son the crowns of Spain, and all the territories depending on them, both in the old and in the new world. —Of all these vast possessions, he reserved nothing for himself but an annual pension of an hundred thousand crowns, to defray the charges of his family, and to afford him a small sum for acts of beneficence and charity.

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He would immediately have embarked for the retreat he had fixed on in Spain, but his physicians remonstrated strongly against his venturing to sea at that cold and bristery season of the year; and by yielding to their intreaties he had the satisfaction of taking a considerable step towards that peace which he so ardently desired; the commissioners that had been appointed by him and the French king to treat of an exchange of prisoners, in their conferences, accidentally proposed terminating the hostilities between the contending monarchs by a long truce, during the continuance of which each was to retain what was in his immediate possession. Charles, sensible how much his kingdoms had suffered from the expensive and almost continual wars in which his ambition had engaged him, and eager to gain for his son a short interval of peace, that he might firmly establish his authority, embraced with ardour the proposal, though manifestly dishonourable as well as disadvantageous; Philip presumed not to oppose his judgment to his father's; and Henry, though he had entered into the strictest engagements with the new Pope to pursue the war against the house of Austria with increase of vigour, could not withstand the temptation of a treaty which left him in quiet possession of the greater part of the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, together with the important conquests he had made on the German frontier. But that he might not seem totally to abandon his ally, he took care that Paul should be expressly included in the truce, which, on the terms that had been proposed, he authorised his ambassadors to sign for five years.

This last negotiation closed the public life of Charles; he had retained the Imperial dignity some time after he had resigned his hereditary dominions, in the vain hope that he might persuade his brother to quit it in favour of Philip; but the answer of Ferdinand

Ferdinand left him nothing to expect; and Charles, ashamed of his own credulity, in having imagined that he might now accomplish what he had formerly attempted without success, desisted finally from his scheme; and transferred, by a formal deed, all his claims of obedience and allegiance from the Germanic body, to the king of the Romans.

Disencumbered of every dignity, nothing now remained to detain him from that retreat for which he languished. In his way to Zutburg in Zealand, where he proposed to embark, he stopped a few days at Ghent, to indulge that pleasing melancholy which arises to the mind of every man in the decline of life on visiting the place of his nativity, and viewing the scenes and objects familiar to him in his early youth. At Zutburg he took leave of Philip, with all the tenderness of a father, who embraced his son for the last time; and sailed under convoy of a large fleet of Spanish, Flemish, and English ships. He declined the invitation of Mary to land in some part of her dominions; observing, that it could not be agreeable to a Queen to receive a visit from a father-in-law, who was now nothing more than a private gentleman. After a prosperous voyage, he arrived at Laredo in Biscay: as soon as he landed, he fell prostrate on the ground, and kissing the earth, "naked," said he, "I came out of my mother's womb, and naked I now return to thee, thou common mother of mankind." From Laredo he pursued his journey to Burgos, where he was met by some of the Spanish nobility; but they were so few in number, that Charles observed it, and felt, for the first time, that he was no longer a monarch. He now discovered that he had been indebted to his rank and power for that obsequious regard which he had fondly thought was paid to his personal qualities. But though he could despise the levity of his subjects, he was deeply

deeply afflicted by the ingratitude of his son, who suffered him to remain some weeks at Burgos before he paid him the first moiety of that small pension which was all that he had reserved of so many kingdoms; and as without this sum Charles could not dismiss his domestics, with such rewards as their services merited, or his generosity had destined them, he could not help expressing both surprise and dissatisfaction.

At last the money was remitted; and Charles having parted with those of his household, whose attendance he thought would be superfluous or cumbersome in his retirement, proceeded to Valladolid, and continued his journey to Plazencia in Estramadura. He had passed through that place a great many years before, and being struck with the delightful situation of the monastery of St. Justins, belonging to the order of St. Jerome, not many miles distant from the town, he had then observed to some of his attendants, that to such a spot Dioclesian might have retired with pleasure. The impression had remained so strong on his mind, that he pitched upon it as the place of his own retreat. It was situated in a vale of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds, covered with lofty trees. From the nature of the soil, as well as the temperature of the climate, it was esteemed the most healthful and delicious situation in Spain. Some months before his resignation, he had sent an architect to add a new apartment to the monastery for his accommodation. It consisted only of six rooms, four of them in the form of friar's cells, with naked walls; the other two, each twenty feet square, were hung with brown cloth, and furnished in the most simple manner. They were all on a level with the ground, with a door on one side into a garden, of which Charles himself had given the plan, and had filled it

it with various plants, which he intended to cultivate with his own hands; on the other side, they communicated with the chapel of the monastery, in which he was to perform his devotions. Into this humble retreat, hardly sufficient for the accommodation of a private gentleman, did Charles enter with twelve domestics only. He buried there, in solitude and silence, his grandeur, his ambition, together with all those vast projects which, during almost half a century, had alarmed and agitated Europe, filling every kingdom in it by turns, with the terror of his arms, and the dread of being subdued by his power.

Perhaps it will not be unacceptable to A. D. 1556,
1558. the reader, if, abandoning the chronolo-

gical order we have hitherto observed, we pursue to his retirement the sequestered prince, and anticipate his last moments, as described by the eloquent historian of his reign. When Charles entered the monastery of St. Justins, he formed such a plan of life for himself, as would have suited the condition of a private gentleman of moderate fortune. His table was neat, but plain; his domestics few; his intercourse with them familiar; all the cumbersome and ceremonious forms of attendance on his person were entirely abolished, as destructive of that social ease and tranquillity which he courted, in order to soothe the remainder of his days. As the mildness of the climate, together with his deliverance from the burdens and cares of government, procured him at first a considerable remission from the acute pains with which he had been long tormented, he enjoyed, perhaps, more complete satisfaction in this humble solitude, than all his grandeur had ever yielded him. Far from taking any part in the political transactions of the Princes of Europe, he restrained his curiosity, even from any enquiry concerning them; and he seemed to view the busy scene which he had abandoned with all the contempt and

and indifference arising from his thorough experience of its vanity, as well as from the pleasing reflection of having disentangled himself from its cares.

Other amusements, and other objects, now occupied him. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands; sometimes he rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one that he kept, attended by a single servant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, which often happened, and deprived him of these more active recreations, he either admitted a few gentlemen, who resided near the monastery, to visit him, and entertained them familiarly at his table; or he employed himself in studying mechanical principles and in forming curious works of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. With this view he had engaged Turriano, one of the most ingenious artists of that age, to accompany him in his retreat. He laboured together with him in framing models of the most useful machines, as well as in making experiments with regard to their respective powers; and it was not seldom that the ideas of the monarch assisted or perfected the inventions of the artist. He relieved his mind, at intervals, with slighter and more fantastic works of mechanism, in fashioning puppets, which, by the structure of internal springs, mimicked the gestures and actions of men, to the astonishment of the ignorant Monks, who beholding movements which they could not comprehend, sometimes distrusted their own senses, and sometimes suspected Charles and Turriano of being in compact with invisible powers. He was particularly curious with regard to the construction of clocks and watches; and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprise as well as regret, on his own folly, in having bestowed

flowed so much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment concerning the profound and mysterious doctrines of religion.

But in what manner soever Charles disposed of the rest of his time, he constantly reserved a considerable portion of it for religious exercises. He regularly attended divine service in the chapel of the monastery, every morning and evening; he took great pleasure in reading books of devotion, particularly the works of St. Augustine and St. Bernard; and conversed much with his confessor, and the prior of the monastery, on pious subjects. Thus did Charles pass the first year of his retreat, in a manner not unbecoming a man perfectly disengaged from the affairs of the present life, and standing on the confines of a future world; either in innocent amusements, which soothed his pains, and relieved a mind worn out with excessive application to business; or in devout occupations, which he deemed necessary in preparing for another state.

But about six months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with a proportional increase of violence. His shattered constitution had not vigour enough remaining to withstand such a shock. It enfeebled his mind as much as his body, and from this period we hardly discern any traces of that sound and masculine understanding, which distinguished Charles among his contemporaries. An illiberal and timid superstition depressed his spirit. He had no relish for amusements of any kind. He endeavoured to conform, in his manner of living, to all the rigour of monastic austerity. He desired no other society than that of Monks, and was almost continually employed with them in chanting the hymns of the Missal. As an expiation for his sins, he gave himself the discipline in secret with such severity, that the whip of
cords

cords which he employed as the instrument of his punishment, was found after his decease tinged with his blood. Nor was he satisfied with these acts of mortification, which, however severe, were not unexampled. The timorous and distrustful solicitude which always accompanies superstition, still continued to disquiet him, and depreciating all the devout exercises in which he had hitherto been engaged, prompted him to aim at something extraordinary, at some new and singular act of piety that would display his zeal, and merit the favour of heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon as any that superstition ever suggested to a weak and disordered fancy. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery. His domestics marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands. He himself followed in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin with much solemnity. The service for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the rest of his soul, mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water on the coffin in the usual form, and all the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of the coffin, and withdrew to his apartment, full of those awful sentiments which such a singular solemnity was calculated to inspire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impression which this image of death left on his mind, affected him so much, that the next day he was seized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long resist its violence, and he expired on the twenty-first of September, after a life of fifty-eight years, six months, and twenty-five days.

Such was the end of Charles the Fifth, a prince whose character is not to be drawn from the exaggerated praises of the Spanish, and the jealous censures of the French historians. Born with talents, which unfolded themselves slowly, and were late in attaining to maturity, he was accustomed to revolve every subject with careful and deliberate attention; to dwell upon it with a serious application, undiverted by pleasure, and hardly relaxed by amusement. But his promptitude in execution was not less remarkable than his patience in deliberation; nor did he discover greater sagacity in his choice of the measures which it was proper to pursue, than fertility of genius in creating resources to render them successful. Though during the most ardent season of life, he confined himself to the cabinet, yet when he appeared at the head of his armies, he displayed such military talents, as entitled him to rank with the most celebrated generals of the age; and he possessed, in the most eminent degree, the science which is of greatest importance to a monarch, of discovering and availing himself of the abilities of mankind. If destitute of that bewitching affability of manners, which gained his rival Francis the hearts of all who approached him, he was no stranger to the virtues which secure fidelity and attachment. He placed unbounded confidence in his generals; he rewarded their services with munificence; he neither envied their fame, nor was jealous of their power. But these qualities were shaded by an unbounded ambition which exhausted and oppressed his people, and by an insidious and fraudulent policy, which was rendered more odious by the open and undesigning dispositions of his contemporaries Francis the First and Henry the Eighth.

If the reign of Charles was favourable to the grandeur, it was fatal to the liberty of Spain; by his success in the war against the Junta, he exalted the

the regal prerogative upon the ruins of the privileges of the people. Though he tolerated the name and the forms of the Cortes, he reduced its authority and jurisdiction almost to nothing; and modelled it in such a manner, that it rather appeared a meeting of the servants of the Crown, than an assembly of the representatives of the people. The suppression of the popular power rendered the aristocratical less formidable. The grandees, prompted by the warlike spirit of the age, or allured by the honour which they enjoyed in a court, exhausted their fortunes in military service, or in attending on the person of their prince; while permitted to retain the vain distinction of being covered in the presence of their sovereign, they observed not, or were indifferent to, the dangerous progress of the royal authority; the will of the monarch soon became the supreme law throughout Castille; and her degenerate sons, accustomed to subjection themselves, assisted in imposing the yoke on their more happy and independent neighbours.

1. The first part of the report is a general introduction to the subject of the study. It discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also provides a brief overview of the methodology used in the study.

2. The second part of the report is a detailed description of the study area. It includes information about the location of the study area, the population of the study area, and the characteristics of the study area. It also discusses the data sources used in the study.

3. The third part of the report is a detailed description of the study results. It includes information about the findings of the study, the conclusions drawn from the findings, and the implications of the findings. It also discusses the limitations of the study and the need for further research.

4. The fourth part of the report is a conclusion and recommendations section. It summarizes the main findings of the study and provides recommendations for future research and policy. It also discusses the overall impact of the study and the need for further research.

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